DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 245 830 PS 014 417

TITLE	Children, Youth, and Families: Beginning the Assessment. Hearing before the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families. House of Representatives, Ninety-Eighth Congress, First Session.
INSTITUTION	Congress of the U.S., Washington, DC. House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.
PUB DATE	28 Apr 84
NOTE	207p.; Some pages have small or broken print.
AVAILABLE FROM	Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402 (Stock No. 052-070-058-69-2, $5.00).
PUB TYPE	Legal/Legislative/Regulatory Materials (090)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Childhood Needs; *Demography; Divorce; Economic Factors; Educational Objectives; *Family Problems; Family Structure; Federal Aid; *Government Role; Hearings; Information Needs; Intervention; Letters (Correspondence); One Parent Family; *Parent Role; Poverty; *Prevention; Public Policy; Tables (Data); Values
IDENTIFIERS	Congress 98th

ABSTRACT

The text of this hearing begins with statements about the scope of interest, functions, and goals of the newly formed Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families. Testimony then focuses on demographic and economic trends influencing family composition and incomes in the recent past, trends in federal spending for children and their families, and the future outlook. Subsequent statements by Dr. T. Berry Brazelton stress the need for preventive interventions, as opposed to therapeutic efforts, in the area of infant development. These remarks are followed by testimony concerning the role of education in a learning society, problems faced by American families, and recommendations to the committee. The testimony of children brought to Washington, D.C., by Save the Children is next included. Additionally presented are an examination of economic consequences of the change in the composition of the American family; a discussion of research indicating the importance of parents' physical and emotional accessibility for the emotional health of children; personal reflections on the importance of the traditional family in producing offspring with right character, on distortions of the ideal of equality, and on implications for public policy; and a brief overview of problems associated with government interventions. Included in the report are 25 tables and figures concerning economic and family conditions and an article examining marriage and divorce statistics. Letters written by children to the President are appended. (RH)

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CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES: BEGINNING THE ASSESSMENT

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON APRIL 28, 1983

Printed for the use of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
22-192 O WASHINGTON : 1983

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CONTENTS

	Page
Hearing held in Washington, D.C., Thursday April 28, 1983	1
Statement of:	
Battistella, Alison, Mount Union, Pa	76
Blocker, Angela, Aliquippa, Pa	82
Chapman, Bruce, Director, U.S. Census Bureau, accompanied by Gordon Green, Chief, Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau, James Weed, Chief, Marriage and Family Statistics Branch, U.S. Census Bureau	83
Claxton, Reed, West Covina, Calif	76
Benton, Marjorie, chairwoman, Save the Children	68
Bowman, Heidi, Wilmington, Del	70
Brazelton, Dr. T. Berry, chief, child development unit, Children's Hospital Medical Center, and associate professor of pediatrics, Harvard Medical School	41
Bullen, Daniel, Mahopac, N.Y	74
Conniff, Miss Maura, South Plainfield, N.J	73
Dintaman, Robby, Mansfield, Ohio	73
Green, Noel, Washington D.C	80
Holton, Dr. Gerald, Mallinckrodt, professor of physics and professor of history of science, Harvard University, and Visiting Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	46
Hovermale, Tara, Berkeley Springs, W. Va	79
Jones, Tiffini, Kona, Ky	71
Kramer, Rita, author	152
Lockwood, Collette, Schurz, Nev	74
McCoy, Carla, Aliquippa, Pa	72
Morfino, Gina, North Hollywood, Calif., and Bonn, West Germany	75
Nicholi, Armand, Jr., M.D., Ph.D., faculty, Harvard Medical School, staff, Massachusetts General Hospital, and former chairman, Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Children and Family	144
Nagulendran, Nirmalan, Cumberland, Md	75
Richman, Harold, director, Social Policy Research Center, and director, Children's Policy Research Project, National Opinion Research Center; and Hermon Dunlap Smith Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago	55
Rivlin, Dr. Alice M., Director, Congressional Budget Office	11
Royle, Dorothy	79
Williams, Dr. Walter, professor of economics, George Mason University, Va	162
Prepared statements, letters, supplemental materials, etc.:	
Benton, Marjorie, chairwoman, Save the Children:	
"Children's Agenda for Action—1983," an article entitled	69
"Save the Children," an article entitled	70
Prepared statement of	68
Chapman, Bruce, Director, U.S. Census Bureau, Accompanied by Gordon Green, Chief, Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau, and James Weed, Chief, Marriage and Family Statistics Branch, U.S. Census Bureau:	
Information on poverty status, child support, and divorce	136
Prepared statement of	86
Dodd, Hon. Christopher J., a Senator from the State of Massachusetts, prepared statement of	11

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental materials, etc.—Continued
Holton, Dr. Gerald, Mallinckrodt professor of physics and professor of history and science, Harvard University, and visiting professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, prepared statement of — Page 51
Johnson, Hon. Nancy L., a Representative in Congress from the State of Connecticut, prepared statement of — 9
Kramer, Rita, author, prepared statement of — 158
Nicholi, Armand, Jr., M.D., Ph.D., faculty, Harvard Medical School, staff, Massachusetts General Hospital, and former chairman, Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Children and Family, prepared statement of — 149
Richman, Harold, director, Social Policy Research Center, and director, Children's Policy Research Project, National Opinion Research Center; and Hermon Dunlap Smith Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, prepared statement of — 59
Rivlin, Dr. Alice M., Director, Congressional Budget Office:
"Congressional Budget Office Study of the Intergovernment Grants System," an article entitled — 37
"Current Fiscal Condition of State and Local Governments," an article entitled — 34
"Distribution of Total Benefits To Families," an article entitled — 31
Prepared statement of — 16
Vucanovich, Hon. Barbara F., a Representative in Congress from the State of Nevada, prepared statement of — 10
Wolfe, Hon. Frank R., a Representative in Congress from the State of Virginia, prepared statement of — 8

APPENDIX

Handwritten letters received from witnesses:
Battistella, Alison, Mount Union, Pa — 182
Bullen, Daniel, Mahopac, N.Y — 181
Chuckie G., third grade, Syracuse, N.Y — 187
Claxton, Reed, West Covina, Calif — 193
Conniff, Maura, South Plainfield, N.J — 203
Demetria, S., eighth grade, Egg Harbor City, N.J — 191
Dintaman, Robby, Mansfield, Ohio — 195
Handwritten letter beginning, "Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Senate" — 201
Jones, Tiffini, Kona, Ky — 199
Laura, E. H., third grade, Asheboro, N.C — 186
Lee, James third grade, Duluth, Minn — 190
Lisa, S., third grade, Pittsburgh, Pa — 183
McCoy, Carla, Aliquippa, Pa — 197
Nikki, M., third grade, Calumet, Ill — 185
Richard, Sanborn, N.Y — 189
Shane, M., Live Oak, Fla — 192
Shannon, R., third grade, Huntington Beach, Calif — 188
Sherra, third grade, Prescott, Ariz — 184
Typewritten letter beginning, "I have been asked to speak about 3rd world countries" — 198

CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES: BEGINNING THE ASSESSMENT

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1983

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:35 a.m., in room 210, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. George Miller (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Miller, Lehman, Schroeder, McHugh, Patterson, Mikulski, Weiss, Leland, Boxer, Levin, Morrison, Rowland, Sikorski, Wheat, Marriott, Fish, Coats, Bliley, Wolf, Burton, Johnson, McKernan, and Vucanovich.

Staff present: Alan J. Stone, staff director and counsel; Ann Rosewater, deputy staff director; Christine Elliott-Groves, minority staff director; and Joan Godley, committee clerk.

Chairman MILLER. The Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families will come to order.

It is with great pleasure that I call to order the first hearing of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

I am proud to participate in this historic event. Never before has Congress taken upon itself the responsibility and initiative to confront comprehensively the issues affecting this constituency.

Many people have joined together to help create what we believe to be a vitally important forum in Congress.

I share that view, and I am sure each member of this committee, on both sides of the aisle, shares that view. For each of us has come to see the need for this committee and for the work we hope it will accomplish.

But each of us also may have a different observation, a different perspective, a different agenda in mind when we look at the current status of children, youth, and families in America.

One would get many answers if one were to ask even the members of this committee, "Why do we need this committee?"

And, contrary to the conventional wisdom, I think that diversity will be one of our greatest strengths. Although none by itself presents the entire truth, each point of view is legitimate, and each is reason enough for this committee. Taken together, they surely answer the question, "Why this committee?"

We need this committee because:

First, we are impressed with the dramatic and permanent changes in the living situations of families and children: More children born into poverty, more raised in single-parent families, more

destined to grow up in, and be shaped by environments vastly different than our own.

Second, we are deeply concerned about what we see out there—the increased stress, the family violence, the abuse, the unacceptably high level of infant mortality.

Third, a committee like this can go after the best possible advice. I believe there is value in new knowledge itself and we must keep up with it. At times elected officials must step outside the pressures of our agendas and our ideologies to use Congress to gather information and test ideas without necessarily having a preconceived legislative purpose.

Fourth, we know from experience that we have the potential for success. From WIC and foster care, to name a few, we know success can be reached by a Congress willing to combine pragmatism with compassion, workability with equity.

Under the committee's jurisdiction, there already exists a host of issues which cut across ideological lines—the concern for stronger communities, for healthier children, for better access to and better results from the educational system, for the continued recognition that families are America's fundamental institution.

Such a coalition of concern is a necessary, but not a sufficient ingredient for success.

To develop that consensus, we must be inclusive of all points of views and experiences.

We absolutely must draw heavily on the talents, resources, and experience, and look to the needs of churches and religious groups, corporations and foundations, nonprofit organizations, service agencies, and the others who see people as people, not as problems or as policies.

We must learn from a range of experiences—local as well as national, private as well as public.

Those experiences, from the publically funded Head Start and compensatory education programs, to the privately funded shelters for abused children and homeless families, could teach us a great deal about how to do things right.

On the other hand, we must not hesitate to learn from those programs which have not met our goals.

This committee must and will set early priorities.

Although we cannot now predict what every area of interest will be, we already know what some of the early critical themes must be.

One important theme will be to prevent failures through early investment.

All too often, both the Government and the private sector end up trying to remedy human problems after they have occurred.

We know we can prevent some of those problems before they happen, especially if we can understand in advance what children do and don't need to flourish.

If we don't, more families will be torn apart by events beyond their control, and remain unable to cope, or gain the necessary skills and resources to carry on.

A second early and constant theme has to be education, of ourselves and of the public.

We must learn how, taken together, the recent changes in workplace and family affect and are affected by virtually all of our social, cultural, and economic arrangements, and most importantly, how they affect the environments in which children are reared.

To begin that educational process, we will release very soon our first committee print entitled, "U.S. Children and Their Families: Current Conditions and Recent Trends."

Finally, there is the summarizing theme, the one that runs throughout the history of America and of Congress, and which I'm sure will remain in the forefront of our vision.

Equity, equality of opportunity, the chance to make it, regardless of color or class, gender or disability.

This is especially important now that we have begun a long overdue debate in Congress over priorities. It is my hope that, whatever the outcome of that debate, those with the weakest voices will not become those with the weakest claims, simply because they have no champion, no forum to make their case.

We, this committee, can be that forum.

I would like at this point to introduce the ranking minority member of this committee, Congressman Dan Marriott. I was delighted to learn that Dan had agreed to take this position knowing that he was giving up other important assignments to lend himself to the task before us.

Dan.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is an honor to serve on this committee with you. This is a very important committee. It is a bipartisan effort, under your direction, to cut across party philosophies and address the real problems of children and families.

I have great confidence in this committee and its members, many of whom have come from other committees where they have had jurisdiction over some of these areas. I believe we are going to be a very effective committee and I hope we can become a permanent committee. I hope we will be a part of the answer to the problems; not a part of the problems.

Mr. Chairman, I am hopeful that this committee can use the first 6 months of its life in efforts to develop a believable, acceptable data base. That is one thing lacking in this country. The budget never gets off first base in this Congress because we do not agree on baseline information. It seems to me that we have to make sure that same pattern does not develop on the important matters of family and children.

I am not prepared to start finding solutions or suggesting policies until all of the facts are in, until we have found the data we need to make proper decisions. I hope that we can analyze the data we collect, evaluate old policies to determine how well they work, and whether or not they are compatible with the new data.

Mr. Chairman, I hope also that we can begin in this committee to address the root causes of our problems and not just treat symptoms. Although treating symptoms is important, we must hack at the roots and not simply spend our time raking the leaves.

I am concerned about why 50 percent of marriages end in divorce, and the impact of divorce and parental absence on children. I am concerned about the special problems of the one in eight white children, and the one in two black children that live with

only one parent. I am concerned that by 1995 this group could make up 100 percent of the people in this country living in poverty.

I am concerned about the widespread pornography and its effect on children. I am concerned about the estimated 500,000 children who grow up in foster homes and the many thousands of special-needs children who desperately need adoptive homes.

I am concerned about the alarming rate of child abuse and incest, that leads to runaway kids, drugs, crime, and suicide. I am concerned also, Mr. Chairman, about whether our tax dollars are all bottled up in the network of bureaucracy or whether they are really getting down to the grassroots where they can do the most good.

I am concerned about employee benefits. Maybe it is time in this country that we began to offer choices like day care centers as employee benefits for working mothers, as well as simply pensions, group insurance and other long established choices of benefits.

I am also concerned, Mr. Chairman, about our tax policy and whether or not the interests of families are being adequately addressed. The $600 exemption per child of 1950, would need to be about $4,000 today, not simply $1,000, to have kept pace with inflation and bracket creep.

And finally, I am very concerned about getting the private sector more involved with solving some of the social problems that affect families and children.

Mr. Chairman, I look forward to working with you and the other members on this committee. We have an awesome responsibility. This could be, and I think is, the most important committee operating in Congress today.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much.

Mr. Lehman.

Mr. LEHMAN. It is an honor and a privilege to be on this committee. I would just like to say that I think it is time for us to get this show on the road.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Coats.

Mr. COATS. Just a brief comment, Mr. Chairman. First, I commend you for your efforts in assembling this committee on a subject that I think is of great importance to all of us. I am honored to be part of this process and look forward to contributing to meaningful debate and constructive recommendations for the children, youth, and families of our nation.

I am particularly interested in the subject of the family. In my opinion, the family is one of the most important, if not the most important, social unit in our society. The strength of the family and the stability of the family determines the viability, vitality, and moral life of any society.

One of the family's most important functions is to shape the values and character of children, a function that it is uniquely situated and suited to perform and for which no remotely adequate substitute has yet been found. The family is truly the best and most efficient "Department of Health, Education, and Welfare." Our laws and policies should encourage and strengthen the family unit and not discourage it.

All of us are acutely aware that many factors are adversely affecting the family unit today. As a result, countless efforts have

been directed toward treating the symptoms of the problem through the proliferation of various programs. However, I do not feel that this is always the best way or approach.

We also should examine the cause of the problem and not just the symptoms: What are the factors that are pulling the family apart today? Are they economic demands, social conditions, or a combination of these and other elements? By understanding the cause of the disintegration, we can more effectively treat the problem.

It is also important that we look to the future to determine the effect on the family if individual members continue to be so isolated from each other that attachments, loyalties, and dependencies are further assaulted.

In my opinion, another important function of the committee will be to examine the healthy families and see why they are strong and interrelate so well. Many of the principles and values of these families could serve as examples to help strengthen other family units which are experiencing difficulties.

Of course, we cannot ignore those who are not privileged or fortunate enough to be part of a family unit. Countless thousands of children have no parents, or perhaps, only one. We need to be sensitive to and address the problems, the unique problems that these children face.

The health and strength of society can be measured by the health and strength of its families. We must do all we can to preserve, protect, and nurture the family as well as be sensitive to individuals who are not so fortunate to be part of a healthy unit.

So I again commend the chairman for the meeting and hope we will achieve policy recommendations which will truly help this special constituency.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Congresswoman Mikulski.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am pleased to be part of this historic committee, and this historic meeting of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

When Congress held its first congressional hearing, there were no founding mothers at that meeting, only founding fathers. And now I am pleased that when we take a look at an assessment of American families, the committee representation has both founding fathers and founding mothers.

I am a professionally trained social worker. One of the reasons that I came into politics was to be sure that we had the programs and policies that took our values that we explicitly stated and turned them into programs and policies that would aid and strengthen the American family.

The lives of children today are different than when I was a social worker. Times are changed. There are more single parent households and not every home is a Norman Rockwell painting. Child abuse, spousal abuse, is on the rise. There are more teenage pregnancies, more latchkey children, and more suicides among young people.

Through this committee, I know we can assess the problems and suggest ways to solve them. I look forward to participating in this process and to making it a truly historic committee.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Mr. Bliley.

Mr. BLILEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to see that the select committee is beginning its work with a comprehensive look at the status of children and families in our society. I know that this would be an inappropriate time to offer conclusions, but I do want to suggest to the other members of the committee some areas into which I think we should look.

We are all aware generally of the problems that face children today—poverty, teenage pregnancy, juvenile crime, decline in the educational standards, drug abuse, increased mental stress. In looking at these and similar problems, we must not fall into the trap of thinking of them simply in financial terms. There are some, possibly some on this committee, who would examine each of these problems and in turn recommend a new Federal program or more Federal dollars.

In some cases such recommendations may be useful. In no case, however, will Federal programs and dollars alone solve the entire problem. We ought to know by now that money cannot make a broken child whole, and we should have learned that money spent indiscriminately can sometimes create new problems or worsen the very problem it tries to solve.

The money solutions, my colleagues, even when they are appropriate and successful, only treat symptoms of the mass of problems affecting children and families today. Increased day care funding is of marginal use if the real problem is parents ignoring their children. Spouse abuse shelters will not serve their true purpose unless the cause of family violence is addressed.

In looking for the root causes of the problems we will be examining today, I believe we would do ourselves and our children a great disservice if we ignore the moral dimensions and the ethical issues that confront us. This society faces striking moral and ethical changes that I believe are prime contributors to many of the problems we observe.

Divorce alone has caused many of these problems, as has been pointed out by a witness we will hear later today, and the increasing divorce rate is a direct result of the declining respect for the sanctity of marriage, and that ultimately is a moral question.

If we avoid these questions, if we reject the moral underpinnings of our society, these problems will never be solved. If tearing down the false wall of separation between religion and civil society will help our children and our families, then we had better look in that direction.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Mr. Weiss.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We have very much important work to do. We ought to get on with it.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I have a statement which I will be submitting for the record in its entirety and I will just read parts of it.

I am concerned that Congress and our Government have neglected the needs of the American family and we may have forgotten the important role that the family plays in shaping America. In contrast to what may be perceived as America's longstanding disregard for the family institution, the tradition around the world has been to place great emphasis on the family.

The Constitution of the Republic of Ireland, for example, proclaims the family as the basic unit of society. Nowhere in the U.S. Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, or even the Federalist Papers, however, has any reference been made to this most important and basic relationship.

The family is a collection of individuals, people who share an intimate and complex connection with one another, being related by marriage, birth, or adoption. Regrettably, the trend in American policies has been to focus laws on individuals, thereby discouraging cooperation in the family, to undermine the family foundation through the regulatory process, and to erode parental authority by limiting the very rights of parents in raising their children and the choices of where their children will attend school.

In my opinion, the select committee which bears "Family" in its title is to study the problem of family units. It should take heed to the fact that it is important for families to stay together, such as encourage fathers to put their families first on their list of priorities and maybe not their careers.

I would like to suggest today, as we begin to address our agenda to resolve complex and far-reaching problems, that we do not enslave ourselves to narrowing to a single approach. As we study the problems of child abuse, alcoholism, and crime, we must give equal scrutiny to "ideal" situations and problem-free examples where families have not broken up, where children have not turned to drugs, where students do excel to their highest potential, and productivity is a characteristic in which we take pride.

We should study the families that stay together and try to make this known to all. By outlining a data base on the healthy and independently functioning families, we will better be able to arrive at a constructive and verifiable conclusion.

Further, the problems the committee faces today are unique and involve all levels of society, across all levels of income, and have no social, economic or physical barriers. Wives that are wealthy are beaten by their spouses, just as those who are poor. Children are neglected and abused in families of high and low income. The growth of nontherapeutic drug users is prevalent among the elite as well as the disadvantaged.

We should not discriminate against any group. This suggests that the answer to our dilemmas will not always be to pump more money into the system. Obviously more money will not help those who are well to do.

I hope the committee's solutions to these problems will not always be to spend more money or to make judgments about other areas of our national budget. Therefore, I believe, in closing, it is essential that the select committee investigate the common denominator of these problems and compare it with mechanisms that

have proved to work for individuals and societies in the past. I urge my colleagues to apply this strategy to proceedings and deliberations in working together in a bipartisan manner as we embark on a difficult and complex task.

Again, I look forward to working with committee members as we strive to make America a better place for all through sound and workable policies.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Congressman Wolf follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY HON. FRANK R. WOLF, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Chairman, it gives me great pleasure to serve on this newly created Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. I have been deeply alarmed for some time now about the attitudes and trends in our society regarding the family, the same concerns which gave impetus to creating this committee.

Through the establishment by the House of this Committee, we have been given the opportunity to make recommendations to influence or change the direction in which our society is headed. I believe we must not lose sight of our objectives. It is important that we adhere to the policy areas to which we have been assigned and approach our task in a bipartisan manner, not letting our goals be obscured by partisan debates which will not solve critical problems of today. By working together we have the opportunity to make constructive changes and to establish this committee as a credible resource to the American public in addressing problems and recommending policies that will truly make a difference.

I am concerned that the Congress and our government have neglected the needs of American families and that we may have forgotten the important role the family plays in shaping America.

In contrast to what may be perceived as America's long-standing disregard for the family institution, the tradition around the world has been to place great emphasis on the family. The Constitution for the Republic of Ireland, for example, proclaims the family as the basic unit of society. Nowhere in the U.S. Constitution, the Declaration of Independence or even in the Federalist Papers, however, has any reference been made to this most important and basic of relationships.

A family is a collection of individuals, people who share an intimate and complex connection with one another, being related by marriage, birth or adoption. Regrettably, the trend in American policies has been to focus laws on individuals, thereby discouraging cooperation in the family, to undermine the family foundations through the regulatory process and to erode parental authority by limiting the very rights of parents in raising their children and the choices of where their children will attend school.

In my opinion the Select Committee which bears "family" in its title should study and address the problems of family units. We should take heed of the fact that it is important for families to stay together and encourage fathers to put their families first on the list of priorities.

I would like to suggest that as we begin today to address our agenda to resolve complex and far-reaching problems that we do not enslave ourselves to a narrow and single approach. As we study the problems of child abuse, alcoholism and crime, we must give equal scrutiny to "ideal" situations, problem-free examples, where families have not broken up, children have not turned to drugs, students excel to their highest potential and productivity is a characteristic in which to take price. We should study the way families stay together and try to make these reasons known.

By building a data base which outlines the strength of healthy and independently functioning families, we will be better able to arrive at constructive and verifiable conclusions. We should evaluate independent support systems of families and individuals.

Further, the problems which the committee faces today are unique and involve all elements of society, cross all levels of income and have no social, economic or physical barriers. Wives of the wealthy are beaten by their spouses just as those of the poor. Children are neglected and abused in families of high and low incomes. The growth of nontherapeutic drug use among teenagers is prevalent among the elite as well as the disadvantaged. We should not discriminate against any group. This suggests that the answer to our dilemmas will not always be to pump more money into

the system. Obviously, more money will not help those who are well-to-do. I hope the committee's solutions to these problems will not always be to spend more money or to make judgments about other areas of our national budget.

Therefore, I believe it is essential that the Select Committee investigate the common denominator of these problems and compare data with mechanisms that have proven to work for individuals and societies of the past and in other cultures.

I urge my colleagues to apply this strategy to proceedings and deliberations working together in a bipartisan manner as we embark on a difficult and complex task. Again, I look forward to working with committee members as we strive to make America a better place for all through sound and workable policies.

Chairman MILLER. If we could continue this quickly, because Dr. Rivlin has a time problem.

Mrs. Boxer.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am greatly honored to be on your committee.

We know that children are our future. It is time that we focused attention on our children and families, not simply to idealize or moralize or criticize, but to first learn the real problems facing our children and our families and then to move toward solutions.

And I look forward to working with you and the members.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Congressman Levin.

Mr. LEVIN. Thank you.

I am so pleased to be on this committee that I pass. [Laughter.]

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Morrison.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Chairman, first I would like to commend you on the hard work that you have done to bring this committee to reality. I think we all share the view that an orientation to the future is something that we need to refocus on in this country and there is no more important element of our future than our children. And with that focus, I think this committee can make a very substantial contribution to the Congress and to the country.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Rowland.

Mr. ROWLAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am very pleased to have the opportunity to serve on this committee, and I look forward with considerable anticipation to us becoming more actively involved in these areas.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Congressman Sikorski.

Mr. SIKORSKI. No statement.

[The prepared statement of Congresswoman Nancy L. Johnson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. NANCY L. JOHNSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, a notable expert in the field of child development, Maria Montessori once said, "If help and salvation are to come, they can only come from the children, for the children are the makers of men."

As a parent, wife, and family member, I would like to say here today that I fully share this view—that children are our only hope and the only "makers of men and women" in the future. As adults and lawmakers, I believe we have a responsibility to our Nation's children to see that they have every opportunity to succeed, to make a better world, and to forge a better future for their children than we have for them.

While I cling to this optimistic outlook for our children and for our future, I am sorry this view is not shared by many Americans. Recent polls indicate that most Americans have begun to lose faith in their children's future. and more parents than ever before have lowered their expectations for the next generation.

Our children and their families face problems of enormous consequence. Not only do they face a future in a world of declining resources, a world of increasing poverty and scarcity of wealth, but a future with increased international tensions. The family structure, battered by increasing divorce rates and internal pressures, is no longer the bulwark of support it once was.

Our world is changing, and so too is the family. In 1982, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, only 5 percent of all households were headed by men who were the sole wage earners and women who were full-time homemakers. Nearly 40 percent of all children under age 18 were living in something other than a two-parent family. Other statistics show that even among children who live with both biological parents, a substantial proportion of children live with parents experiencing moderate to high marital conflict.

Even more disturbing, children are more likely than any other age group to be living in poverty. While the proportion of children who are poor declined sharply in the 1960's, it rose toward the end of the last decade. Barely a third of women with minor children whose fathers are absent receive child support payments from the absent fathers. The average amounts received are small among all groups. In addition, children living in two-parent families enjoy nearly three times the family income of children in mother-only families.

Nevertheless, we live in a world of exciting accomplishments—increasing technological advancements, phenomenal medical breakthroughs and tremendous global concern and awareness. I believe we must use all of our resources in every possible way for this and the next generation.

The reason for the dramatic decline in hope for our children's future will long be debated by experts in all professional fields. There can be no doubt that we will be exploring this trend in this committee as well. Our task will be enormous. As we do so, I hope we will remember the words of another individual, who noted "children have more need of models than of critics."

This will be our greatest challenge—to be models. I believe we have a responsibility in this committee to explore these models, and to lead the next generation in a constructive positive direction. I look forward to the challenges and responsibilities of this committee, and as working as a member on the task forces on economic security and crisis intervention. I commend the chairman, Mr. Miller, and the ranking minority member, Mr. Marriott, for their efforts in setting up this hearing and for inviting such a distinguished panel of witnesses.

[The prepared statement of Congresswoman Barbara Vucanovich follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. BARBARA F. VUCANOVICH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEVADA

Mr. Chairman. First of all, I am honored to have this opportunity to serve on the first House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families. As a mother of 5 and grandmother of 15, I closely identify with the realities and dreams of our Nation's families, and I am very pleased that the Congress has had the wisdom to establish this committee.

I am optimistic that, with the help of knowledgeable groups and individuals such as those assembled here today, we can make great strides toward improving the quality of life for children, youth, and families all across the Nation. Our responsibility is great and I am pleased that the committee's work is now underway.

It is my hope that this committee will be able to look objectively at the best available data, research, and other supportive information in studying the problems of children, youth, and families, as well as at policies and programs in this regard. Furthermore, it is my strong belief that during the course of this committee's work, we should not lose site of the fundamental and unique principles which underlying the very structure of the family. I believe it is the existence of these principles which have in the past and will in the future determine the success or failure of the family unit, which I believe to be the foundation of our society.

Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, and I look forward to hearing the testimony to be presented here today and to working with you and our fellow colleagues on the select committee during the 98th Congress.

[The prepared statement of Congressman Christopher Dodd follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, A SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Chairman, I congratulate you on holding your first hearing today. The Save the Children witnesses you have called to testify are the most expert witnesses you could have before you. They represent one-third of the American public, the one-third that is going to determine this Nation's future. Yet despite their overwhelming numbers, we here in Congress know very little about the conditions in which they live.

It was to find out how young people like these are gowing up in America today that you formed this committee and for that I applaud you. Along with Senator Specter, I have been attempting to establish a Children's Caucus in the Senate and hope that we will be able to join you very soon.

I understand that the foremost concerns of the younger witnesses appearing before you today are unemployment and violence. Tragically, those are not unrelated topics. Recent studies indicate that children who live in families where the breadwinner is unemployed are three times more likely to be abused than other children. We must listen closely and carefully to these and the other concers of your witnesses. They have a great deal to tell us.

Thank you again for inviting me.

Chairman MILLER. Dr. Rivlin, welcome to the committee. It is rather fitting that our first hearing is in the Budget Committee room, where you probably have spent more hours than anyone else.

We look forward to your testimony, and it will be placed in the record in its entirety and you may proceed in the manner which you are most comfortable.

STATEMENT OF ALICE M. RIVLIN, DIRECTOR, CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE

Ms. RIVLIN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I, too, am delighted that this committee exists, and I am honored to be the first witness in what I know will be an important and constructive series of hearings and events.

I am particularly glad that you are not just hearing from bureaucrats and budgeteers, that you are hearing from doctors and teachers and mothers and fathers, and especially that we are going to be hearing from children.

Nevertheless, my assignment this morning was to look at the numbers, and so I will try briefly to start you off with a look at what has happened to numbers of children, particularly numbers of children in poverty, and to what the Federal Government is doing for families and children.

The number of children living in low-income households has risen sharply in the last few years and is likely to remain high for the rest of the decade. This rise has been fueled by such factors as an increase in the number of single-parent households and high rates of unemployment. At the same time, Federal spending on children and families, especially those with low incomes, has recently declined in real terms, and under current policies it will continue to fall.

Because of these reductions in total spending during a period when the low-income population has increased, average benefits received by families have fallen by an even larger proportion than total spending levels, and will continue to fall.

My remarks today will cover three topics: the demographic and economic trends that have influenced family composition and incomes in the recent past; the trends in Federal spending on children and their families; and the outlook for the future.

The age structure of the American population has undergone major changes in the last 30 years, resulting from the postwar baby boom and the period of relatively low birth rates that followed it. The proportion of the population below 18 years of age rose from 31 percent in 1950 to a peak of over 35 percent in the sixties, and since then the under-18 group has fallen to a new low of now less than 28 percent today.

Between the late fifties and 1979, the proportion of the population under age 5 fell comparatively more, but there has been a slight upturn since then, as the baby boom generation entered its child-bearing years.

These fluctuations in the age structure of the population have had a major impact on American life. As the baby-boom generation grew up, its size necessitated increased public spending, first on schools, then on colleges and universities. More recently, the entry of this generation into the labor force contributed to the high unemployment rates of the late 1970's, and its formation of new households may have helped fuel the housing boom of the same period.

The maturing of the baby boom generation into its most productive work years and the relatively small size of the following generation could free many social resources formerly devoted to children for other purposes, without a decline in the relative level of services going to today's children.

On the other hand, although children are declining as a proportion of the population, other social and economic trends have caused the number of low-income children to grow, which may increase the need for public spending targeted toward them.

The recent growth in the number of children under 18 in poverty followed a period of major decline. Over the 1960's, poverty rates for children fell from almost 27 percent to 14 percent, as may be seen in figure 2. The proportion of children who were poor rose slightly over the seventies, however, and in the last 3 years has risen dramatically, from 16 percent to almost 20 percent. More than one-fourth of all children now live in households with incomes below 125 percent of the poverty level—an income equivalent to about $9,000 for a family of three, for example.

Two major factors account for much of this recent increase in the number of children in poverty: A rise in the proportion of children living with only one parent, and the current recession. Since 1970, the proportion of children in single-parent families has grown from about 13 percent to about 21 percent. About 90 percent of the children in single-parent families live with their mothers, and over half of all children in households with female heads were in poverty in 1981.

Rising unemployment rates have been even more important in increasing the number of children in poverty during the past 3 years. The unemployment rate peaked at over 10 percent this year, compared with average rates of less than 5 percent in the 1960's and just over 6 percent in the 1970's.

Families with an unemployed parent are three times as likely to be in poverty as those with no unemployed adults—18 percent of the first group are poor, compared with only 6 percent of the latter. In addition, slow economic growth has held down incomes

even for those who are employed—for example, through reduced hours of work.

The Federal Government funds benefits for children through two types of programs: Entitlement programs which provide benefits to all applicants who meet the program's eligibility rules; and appropriated programs, whose spending levels depend primarily on the funds allocated by the Congress.

First, on the entitlement programs, what has happened to them. The Federal Government spent about $38 billion on families with children through entitlement programs in 1982. The largest single program aiding children is social security, which provided almost $11 billion in benefits in 1982 to children and families with a deceased or disabled parent.

Unlike social security, most other major entitlement programs aiding families with children are means-tested—that is, they pay benefits only to those with incomes and assets below specified levels. Examples include Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which in 1982 paid about $8 billion in benefits to families with single or unemployed parents; food stamps, which provided between 8 billion and 9 billion dollars' worth of food coupons to families with children; and medicaid, which paid for about $5 billion in medical services for those families.

Spending on these programs increased rapidly in the 1960's and early 1970's, when medicaid and food stamps were started and when the AFDC program was expanded substantially. Between 1970 and 1975, spending for all entitlements serving children rose by more than 40 percent in real terms and outlays for means-tested programs more than doubled. Between 1975 and 1979, however, combined outlays for these programs stayed almost constant in real terms.

In the last 3 years, benefits have declined significantly relative to the number of potentially eligible families, and in 1982 alone spending levels fell by about 5 percent in real terms. Two offsetting factors have affected outlays in this period. On the one hand, the number of low-income families has increased considerably since 1979, causing both eligibility and applications for benefits to rise. On the other hand, major cuts in these programs would have reduced outlays on them substantially had the recession not increased the number of beneficiaries. Even so, between 1981 and 1982 nominal expenditures for AFDC and food stamps for families with children each dropped about $200 million.

Many of the major appropriated programs for children and their families were initiated in the sixties and seventies, and funding accordingly increased rapidly during that period. For example, chapter I, which used to be known as title I, the Federal program supporting compensatory education for poor and underachieving students, was established in 1965 and reached a peak funding level of $3.2 billion in 1979.

Similarly, Federal support for the education of handicapped children grew rapidly over the 1970's, from $85 million in 1970 to $1 billion in 1980, in substantial part because of the Education for All Handicapped Act of 1975. The special supplemental food program for women, infants, and children, started in 1973 to provide nutritious foods to low-income women before and after childbirth and to

their infants and young children, reached a funding level of $740 million in 1980. Funding for services for children and their families in the areas of housing, education, social services, nutrition, and health totaled roughly $15 billion in 1980.

Since 1980, trends in the funding of appropriated programs for children have varied greatly from program to program. Nominal funding for these programs taken together changed relatively little between 1980 and 1982, but that constancy masks a variety of increasing, decreasing, and level-funded programs.

In two budget subfunctions—health and social services—total appropriations remained roughly constant, but in each increases in some programs compensated for decreases in others. In social services, for example, increases in Head Start tended to offset decreases in the human services block grant.

Total funding for elementary and secondary education, on the other hand, decreased by more than $1 billion—about 15 percent in nominal terms. Funding for WIC increased by over $150 million because of congressional action during the 1980–82 period, while Federal housing expenditures for families with children rose by almost $1.5 billion, largely reflecting subsidy commitments made before 1980.

The effects of these increases and reductions in appropriated programs cannot be estimated fully because the information on the effectiveness of the diverse programs is sometimes incomplete—it is usually incomplete—and because the impact of many of the cuts will depend on the responses of States and localities.

Nonetheless, the impact of some of the programs on children and their families—and accordingly, the effects of changes in funding levels—is reasonably clear. Research has indicated, for example, that chapter I services have improved the academic performance of low-achieving students, so cuts in this program could impede continued improvement in the educational achievement of disadvantaged students.

Similarly, a growing body of medical research links the WIC nutrition program with reduced infant mortality, reduced incidence of low birth weight, and avoidance of abnormal infant development. The expansion of the WIC program over the past 3 years might therefore be expected to extend these benefits to additional children and families.

Now, as for the future. The number of children living in poverty will probably remain high in the near future and may continue to increase, in part because of demographic factors. The Bureau of the Census projects that the number of births per year will continue to rise, resulting in an increase in the number of young children. In addition, the proportion of children living in single-parent households is projected to rise to about one-fourth in 1990.

The performance of the economy in the next few years will also be crucial in determining the number of poor children. The CBO currently projects that unemployment will decline only slowly, and will still average 7.5 percent in 1988.

If this occurs, the proportion of children in poverty will remain high. On the other hand, if there is a stronger recovery, the faster decline in unemployment and higher growth in real incomes could somewhat offset the effects of the demographic factors.

Higher real Federal spending on children and families could help to alleviate some of the hardships that would be caused by a continuing increase in family poverty; if current policies are maintained, however, spending not only will not increase significantly, but may even decline. Under current CBO projections, total spending on entitlement programs will not increase in real terms over the next 5 years, despite the rise of about a fourth in nominal terms.

Most of the decline will occur in the next 2 to 3 years as a result of the reductions legislated in 1981 and 1982. Moreover, since the means-tested entitlements are projected to decline somewhat more than the nonmeans-tested programs, low-income families will be particularly affected.

For appropriated programs, maintaining current service levels would require increases in their real funding, given the projected rise in the numbers of very young children and children in low-income families, two groups served by many of these programs. On the other hand, many appropriated programs serving children have been cut substantially in the recent past, and there is no guarantee that current levels of services will be maintained in the future.

The impact that these trends will have on children and families is hard to forecast in any detail, given the lack of data on Federal spending for children. For many programs, reliable information on the proportion of total spending going to children and families is not available. In addition, it is difficult to gauge the impact of program changes on particular families, since there is little information on the number of families served by more than one program and hence on the number that are affected by several different cuts.

The lack of information on the income status of children and families and on the benefits they receive is particularly marked when one compares with the extensive data now collected on the elderly population. One goal on which this committee might want to focus, therefore, would be the improvement of data collection and dissemination efforts.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, the number of children living in low-income households has increased significantly in the past 3 years and will remain high unless the economy recovers faster than is now projected. This growth results from several different factors, including a rising number of births per year and a higher proportion of children in single-parent families, but the most important cause is the current recession and the slowness of the projected recovery.

Total Federal spending in the last 3 years has increased more slowly than the number of low-income families with children, and in the last year it has actually fallen in nominal terms, even for entitlement programs. Future spending levels are difficult to project, especially for appropriated programs, but if current trends continue there will be little real growth and possibly further declines. Since the eligible population will remain high and may grow, benefits for each eligible family may also fall further in coming years.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Alice M. Rivlin follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ALICE M. RIVLIN, DIRECTOR, CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE

The number of children living in low-income households has risen sharply in the last few years and is likely to remain high for the rest of the decade. This rise has been fueled by such factors as an increase in the number of single-parent households and high rates of unemployment. At the same time, federal spending on children and families--especially those with low incomes--has recently declined in real terms, and under current policies it will continue to fall. Because of these reductions in total spending during a period when the low-income population has increased, the average benefits received by families have fallen by an even larger proportion than total spending levels, and will continue to fall.

My remarks today will cover three major topics:

- o Demographic and economic trends that have influenced family composition and incomes over the recent past;
- o Trends in federal spending on children and their families; and
- o The outlook for the future.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC TRENDS AFFECTING CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

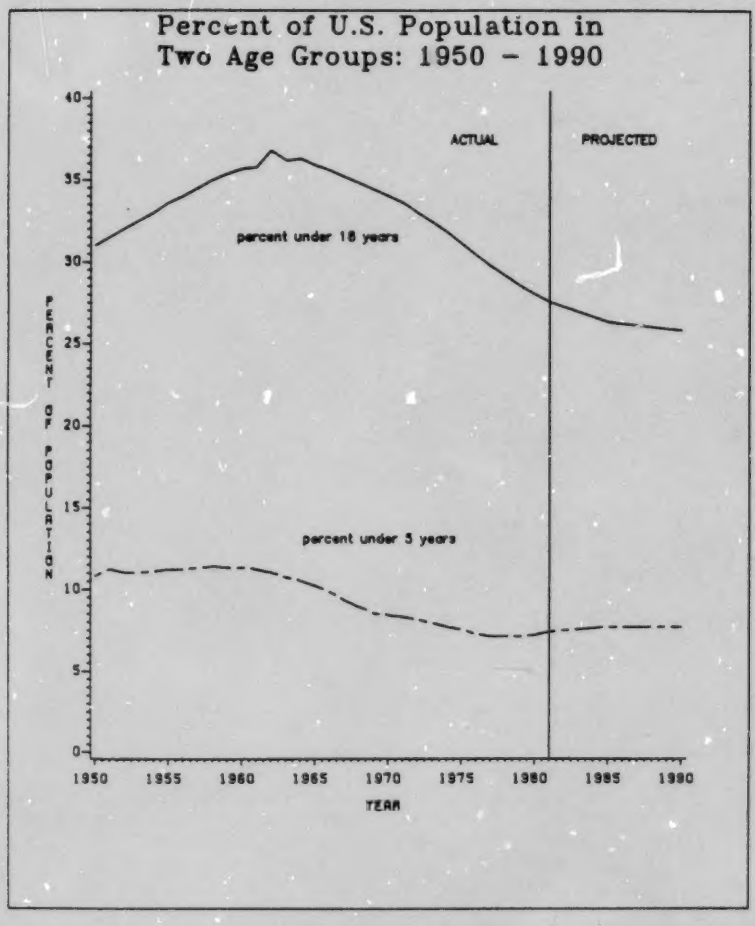
The age structure of the American population has undergone major changes in the last 30 years, resulting from the postwar baby boom and the period of relatively low birthrates that followed it. The proportion of the population below 18 years of age rose from about 31 percent in 1950 to a

peak of over 36 percent in the early 1960s; since then, the under-18 group has fallen to a new low of less than 28 percent today (see Figure 1). Between the late 1950s and 1979, the proportion of the population under age 5 fell comparatively more, but there has been a slight upturn since then, as the baby-boom generation entered its child-bearing years.

These fluctuations in the age structure of the population have had a major impact on American life. As the baby-boom generation grew up, its size necessitated increased public spending, first on schools and then on colleges and universities. More recently, the entry of this generation into the labor force contributed to the high unemployment rates of the late 1970s, and its formation of new households may have helped to fuel the housing boom of the same period.

The maturing of the baby-boom generation into its most productive work years, and the relatively small size of the following generation, could free many social resources formerly devoted to children for other purposes, without a decline in the relative level of services going to today's children. On the other hand, although children are declining as a proportion of the population, other social and economic trends have caused the number of low-income children to grow, which may increase the need for public spending targeted toward them.

FIGURE 1


Percent of U.S. Population in
Two Age Groups: 1950 - 1990
ACTUAL
PROJECTED
percent under 18 years
percent under 5 years
PERCENT OF POPULATION
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
1950
1955
1960
1965
1970
1975
1980
1985
1990
YEAR

The recent growth in the number of children under 18 in poverty followed a period of major decline. 1/ Over the 1960s, poverty rates for children fell from almost 27 percent to 14 percent (see Figure 2). The proportion of children who were poor rose slightly over the 1970s, however, and in the last three years it has risen dramatically--from 16 percent to almost 20 percent. More than one-fourth of all children now live in households with incomes below 125 percent of the poverty level--an income equivalent to about $9,000 for a family of three, for example.

Two major factors account for much of this recent increase in the number of children in poverty: a rise in the proportion of children living with only one parent, and the current recession. Since 1970, the proportion of children in single-parent families has grown from about 13 percent to about 21 percent. About 90 percent of children in single-parent families live with their mothers, and over half of all children in households with female heads were in poverty in 1981.

Rising unemployment rates have been even more important in increasing the number of children in poverty during the past three years. The

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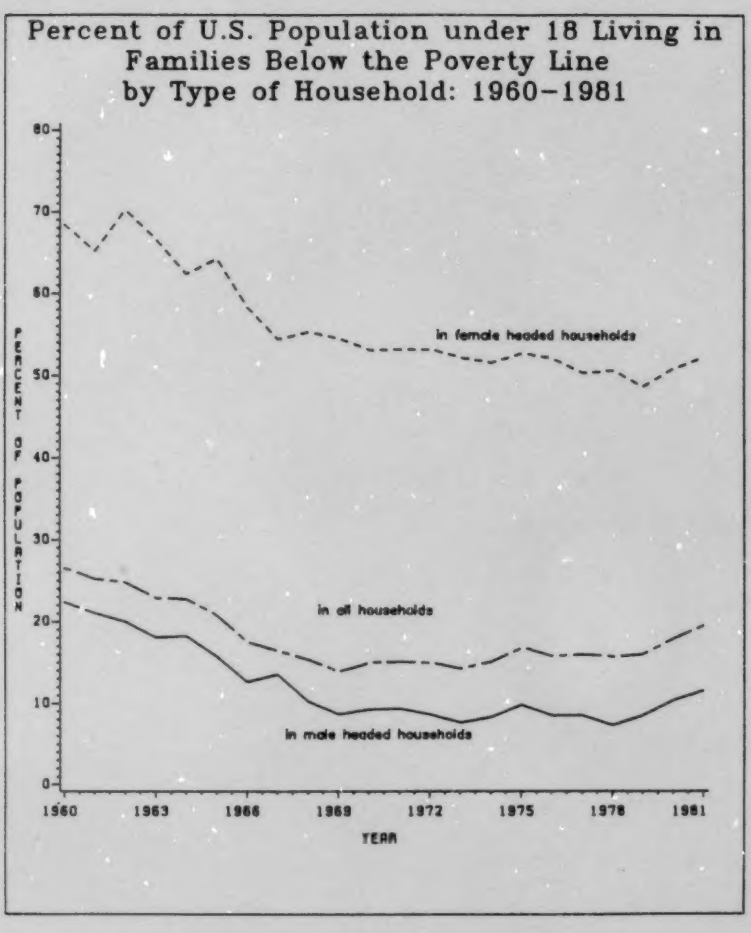
1. Official poverty rates are determined by comparing families' cash incomes with thresholds that vary by family composition and other factors. Consequently, they do not reflect the value of in-kind benefits such as food stamps.

FIGURE 2


Percent of U.S. Population under 18 Living in Families Below the Poverty Line by Type of Household: 1960–1981
PERCENT OF POPULATION
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
in female headed households
in all households
in male headed households
1960
1963
1966
1969
1972
1975
1978
1981
YEAR

unemployment rate peaked at over 10 percent this year, compared with average rates of less than 5 percent in the 1960s and just over 6 percent in the 1970s. Families with an unemployed parent are three times as likely to be in poverty as those with no unemployed adults--18 percent of the first group are poor, compared with 6 percent of the latter. In addition, slow economic growth has held down incomes even for those who are employed--for example, through reduced hours of work.

TRENDS IN FEDERAL SPENDING ON CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES

The federal government funds benefits for children through two types of programs: entitlement programs, which provide benefits to all applicants who meet the program's eligibility rules; and appropriated programs, whose spending levels depend primarily on the funds allocated by the Congress.

Entitlement Programs

The federal government spent about $38 billion on families with children through entitlement programs in 1982 (see Table 1). 2/ The largest single program aiding children is Social Security, which provided almost $11 billion in benefits in 1982 to children and families with a deceased or

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2. Only programs providing benefits specifically for children and their families have been included in this estimate and in the subsequent discussion.

TABLE 1. EXPENDITURE LEVELS FOR SELECTED ENTITLEMENT PROGRAMS PROVIDING BENEFITS FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES IN 1982 (In billions of dollars)

	Total Expenditure Level	Outlays for Families with Children a/	Percent to Families with Children
Means-Tested			
AFDC	8	8	100
Food Stamps	11	8-9	75-80
Child Nutrition	3	3	100
Medicaid	17	4-6	25-35
Supplemental Security Income	8	1	8
Veterans' Pensions	4	b/	b/
Non-Means-Tested			
Social Security (OASDI)	154	11	7
Veterans' Compensation	9	b/	b/
Civil Service Retirement	19	c/	d/
Railroad Retirement	6	c/	d/

a. Except for food stamps, estimates of total benefits for families given here include only benefits for children and for adults who qualify because of the presence of one or more children in the household. Benefits received by other adults in the family who themselves qualify for benefits (because of disability, for example) are excluded. In the case of food stamps, total benefits going to families with children have been included.

b. Most veterans' benefits are paid to living veterans and their families, with the majority being paid to veterans rather than other family members; for these families, the data do not allow benefits for children under 18 to be identified. For survivors of veterans, approximately 15-20 percent of benefits are paid to families with children.

c. Less than $500 million.

d. Less than 5 percent.

disabled parent. 3/ Unlike Social Security, most other major entitlement programs aiding families with children are means-tested--that is, they pay benefits only to those with incomes and assets below specified levels. Examples include Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which in 1982 paid about $8 billion to families with single or unemployed parents; food stamps, which provided between $8 billion and $9 billion worth of food coupons to families with children; and Medicaid, which paid for about $5 billion in medical services for these families. 4/

Spending on these programs increased rapidly in the 1960s and early 1970s when Medicaid and food stamps were started and when the AFDC program was expanded substantially. Between 1970 and 1975, spending for all entitlements serving children rose by more than 40 percent in real terms, and outlays for means-tested programs more than doubled (see Figure 3). Between 1975 and 1979, however, combined outlays for these programs stayed almost constant in real terms.

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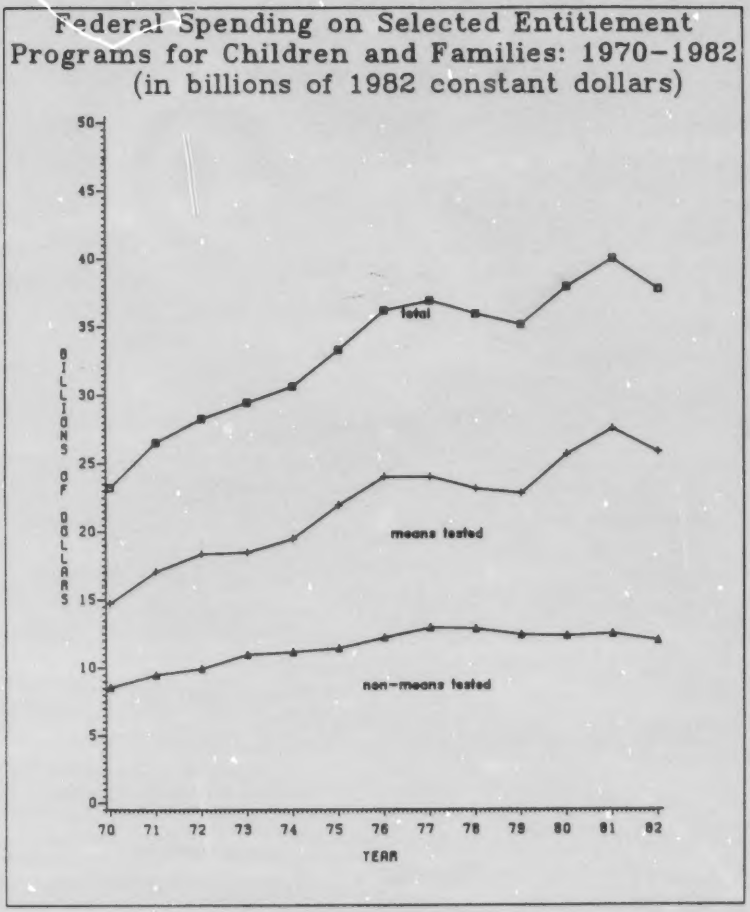
3. Except for food stamps, estimates of total benefits for families given here include only benefits for children and for adults who qualify because of the presence of one or more children in the household. Benefits received by other adults in the family who themselves qualify for benefits (because of disability, for example) are excluded. In the case of food stamps, total benefits going to families with children have been included.

4. These figures represent the federal share of spending. States also contribute almost as much to AFDC and Medicaid.

FIGURE 3


Federal Spending on Selected Entitlement Programs for Children and Families: 1970–1982
(in billions of 1982 constant dollars)
BILLIONS OF DOLLARS
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
total
means tested
non-means tested
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
YEAR

In the last three years, benefits have declined significantly relative to the number of potentially eligible families, and in 1982 alone spending levels fell by about 5 percent in real terms. Two offsetting factors have affected outlay levels in this period. On the one hand, the number of low-income families has increased considerably since 1979, causing both eligibility and applications for benefits to rise. On the other hand, major cuts in these programs would have reduced outlays on them substantially had the recession not increased the number of beneficiaries. Even so, between 1981 and 1982, nominal expenditures for AFDC and food stamps for families with children each dropped by about $200 million.

Appropriated Programs

Many of the major appropriated programs for children and their families were initiated in the 1960s and 1970s, and funding accordingly increased rapidly during that period. For example, Chapter I (formerly Title I), the federal program supporting compensatory education for poor and underachieving students, was established in 1965 and reached a peak funding level of $3.2 billion in 1979. Similarly, federal support for the education of handicapped children grew rapidly over the 1970s, from $85 million in 1970 to $1 billion in 1980, in substantial part because of the Education for All Handicapped Act of 1975. The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), started in 1973 to provide nutritious foods to low-income women before and after childbirth and to their infants

and young children, reached a funding level of $740 million in 1980. Funding for services for children and their families in the areas of housing, education, social services, nutrition, and health totaled roughly $15 billion in 1980.

Since 1980, trends in the funding of appropriated programs for children have varied greatly from program to program. Nominal funding for these programs taken together changed relatively little between 1980 and 1982, but that constancy masks a variety of increasing, decreasing, and level-funded programs. In two budget subfunctions--health and social services--total appropriations remained roughly constant, but in each, increases in some programs compensated for decreases in others. In social services, for example, increases in Head Start tended to offset decreases in the Human Services Block Grant (Title XX). Total funding for elementary and secondary education, on the other hand, decreased by more than $1 billion--about 15 percent, in nominal terms. Funding for WIC increased by over $150 million because of Congressional action during the 1980-1982 period, while federal housing expenditures for families with children rose by almost $1.5 billion, largely reflecting subsidy commitments made before 1980.

The effects of these increases and reductions in appropriated programs cannot be estimated fully, because information on the effectiveness of the diverse programs is sometimes incomplete and because the impact of many

of the cuts will depend on the responses of states and localities. Nonetheless, the impact of some of the programs on children and their families--and, accordingly, the effects of changes in funding levels--is reasonably clear. Research has indicated, for example, that Chapter 1 services have improved the academic performance of low-achieving students, so cuts in this program could impede continued improvement in the educational achievement of disadvantaged students. Similarly, a growing body of medical research links the WIC nutrition program with reduced infant mortality, reduced incidence of low birth weight, and avoidance of abnormal infant development. The expansion of the WIC program over the past three years might therefore be expected to extend these benefits to additional children and families.

PROJECTED DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND EXPENDITURE TRENDS

The number of children living in poverty will probably remain high in the near future and may continue to increase, in part because of demographic factors. The Bureau of the Census projects that the number of births per year will continue to rise, resulting in an increase in the number of young children. In addition, the proportion of children living in single-parent households is projected to rise to about one-fourth by 1990.

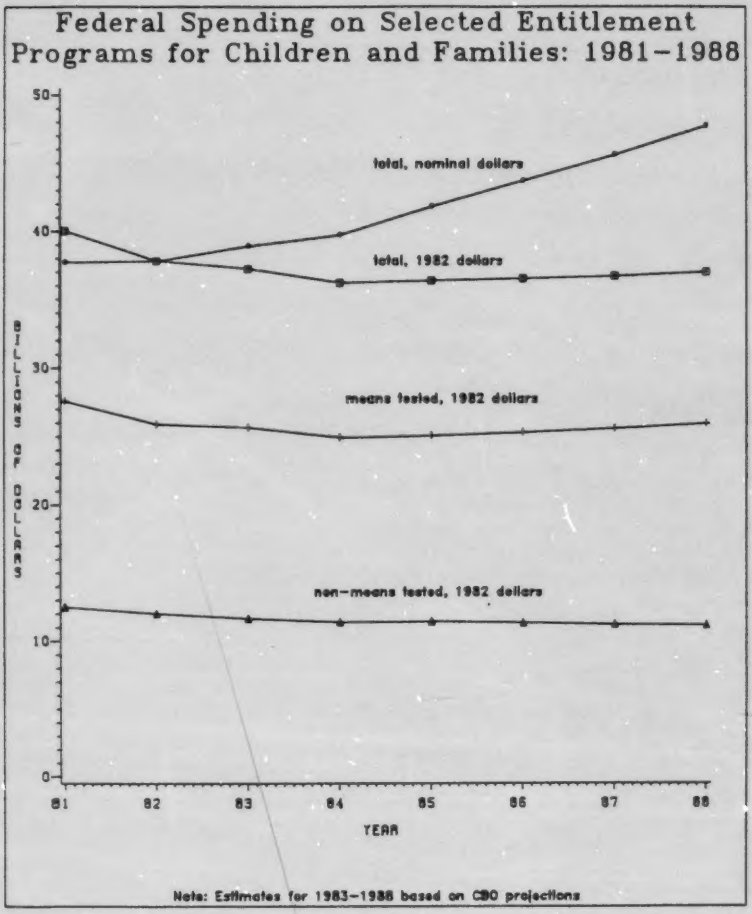
The performance of the economy in the next few years will also be crucial in determining the number of poor children. The CBO currently

projects that unemployment will decline only slowly, and will still average 7.5 percent in 1988. If this occurs, the proportion of children in poverty will remain high. On the other hand, if there is a stronger recovery, the faster decline in unemployment and higher growth in real incomes could somewhat offset the effects of the demographic factors.

Higher real federal spending on children and families could help to alleviate some of the hardships that would be caused by a continuing increase in family poverty; if current policies are maintained, however, spending not only will not increase significantly, but may even decline. Under current CBO projections, total spending on entitlement programs will not increase in real terms over the next five years, despite a rise of about one-fourth in nominal terms (see Figure 4). Most of the decline will occur in the next two to three years, as a result of the reductions legislated in 1981 and 1982. Moreover, since the means-tested entitlements are projected to decline somewhat more than the non-means-tested programs, low-income families will be particularly affected.

For appropriated programs, maintaining current services levels would require increases in their real funding, given the projected rise in the numbers of very young children and children in low-income families, two groups served by many of these programs. On the other hand, many appropriated programs serving children have been cut substantially in the recent

FIGURE 4



22-192 O—83——3

past, and there is no guarantee that current levels of services will be maintained in the future.

The impact these trends will have on children and families is hard to forecast in any detail, given the lack of data on federal spending for children. For many programs, reliable information on the proportion of total spending going to children and families is not available. In addition, it is difficult to gauge the impact of program changes on particular families, since there is little information on the number of families served by more than one program and hence on the number that are affected by several different cuts. The lack of information on the income status of children and families and on the benefits they receive is particularly marked when one compares it with the extensive data now collected on the elderly population. One goal on which this Committee may wish to focus, therefore, would be the improvement of data collection and dissemination efforts.

CONCLUSION

The number of children living in low-income households has increased significantly in the past three years, and will remain high unless the economy recovers faster than is now projected. This growth results from several different factors, including a rising number of births per year and a higher proportion of children in single-parent families, but the most important cause is the current recession and the slowness of the projected recovery.

Total federal spending in the last three years has increased more slowly than the number of low-income families with children, and in the last year it has actually fallen in nominal terms even for entitlement programs. Future spending levels are difficult to project, especially for appropriated programs, but if current trends continue there will be little real growth and possibly further declines. Since the eligible population will remain high and may grow, benefits for each eligible family may also fall further in coming years.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much, Dr. Rivlin. And it is my understanding that you are going to have to leave about 10:30, so we will try to keep our questions to a minimum.

The purpose of this opening hearing is to get the information from that table to this dais, and to achieve that, we are going to have a rather tight schedule.

Let me just ask one question very quickly. On page 9 of your statement you project that 25 percent of the children may be living in single-parent households, as a trend that you see increasing from the 21 percent earlier in your testimony. Would it also be fair to suggest that the earlier statistic of 90 percent of those headed by female heads of households would be living in poverty, that that trend would also be likely to continue?

Ms. RIVLIN. It is not 90 percent. But, in any case, it is a very——

Chairman MILLER. Are you saying that 90 percent of children in single-parent families are with their mothers?

Ms. RIVLIN. Yes, I think there is hope for improvement, in that as the economy improves, women's wage levels, as well as others, will rise. But the point is that the proportion of single-parent families who are in poverty is extremely high, and an increase in that proportion is likely to increase the number of children in poverty. And some increase—not a vast increase but some increase—in that proportion seems likely.

Chairman MILLER. Could CBO provide the committee with a breakdown of the distribution of Government benefits, including program benefits and tax benefits, by income distribution and family income? Is that available?

Ms. RIVLIN. Only partially. It is possible to do that for some programs where the information exists, but there are many programs for which it is hard to figure out how much of the spending is for children, let alone how much goes to various income levels. We could give you some estimates, but we would also point to the gaps in the data.

[The following was received for the record:]

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL BENEFITS TO FAMILIES

Calculating the distribution of total benefits going to families is extremely complex. About 20 percent of all direct benefits—benefits provided directly to families

or individuals in the form of cash or goods and services—are provided through means-tested programs. These programs, which include, for example, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), food stamps, and Medicaid, serve primarily low-income families. Other, non-means-tested programs like Social Security and Medicare also provide relatively large amounts of benefits to low-income individuals and families, however; in fact, because these programs are so much bigger than the means-tested programs, they may provide a larger share of the benefits received by low-income families than do the means-tested programs. According to the Bureau of the Census' Current Population Survey (CPS) of March 1982, for example, more than twice as many households with incomes below $15,000 receive Social Security benefits as receive public assistance. Table 1, which is based on the March 1982 CPS, shows the proportion of all families and the proportion of poor families receiving benefits from selected programs.

The CPS is the major source of information on the current incomes of families within the population as a whole. The 1983 CPS, which reports on 1982 income, is not yet available, however, and recent changes in income support programs may not be entirely reflected in the incomes reported in the 1982 CPS. In addition, the unadjusted CPS has more serious problems as a source of information about the distribution of program benefits. The CPS is designed primarily to report information on family composition, earnings, and other variables that apply to very broad segments of the population, and it is extremely useful for those purposes. It does not, however, do as good a job of collecting information on benefits received by families, both because the individuals interviewed are sometimes reluctant to talk about the public assistance and other benefits they receive, and because families receiving some kinds of benefits may move around more and be harder to locate than other families.

In addition to the CPS, other sources of information on the distribution of benefits include records of the individual programs and the recent test panels of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). (The SIPP itself is scheduled to begin in fiscal year 1984.) Reconciling all of this information and using it to produce a consistent set of estimates of the distribution of benefits by income for all of the different federal benefit programs is a major task, however.

Although the CBO does not have estimates of the distribution of all benefits by income category, we have estimated the impact of the recently enacted changes in direct benefits and taxes. Tables 2 and 3 summarize those impacts for the 1981 and 1982 changes respectively. It should be noted that these estimates are not strictly additive, because they are based on slightly different economic assumptions and income categories. For details on how these estimates were calculated and additional information on the impact of these reductions and reductions in other areas, see "Effects of Tax and Benefit Reductions Enacted in 1981 for Households in Different Income Categories" (CBO Special Study, February 1982), and "Effects of Changes in Taxes and Benefit Payments Enacted in Fiscal Year 1982 for Households in Different Income Categories" (CBO Staff Memorandum, November 1982).

TABLE 1.—NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME FROM VARIOUS SOURCES IN 1981, BY POVERTY STATUS [1]

Income source	All families		Families below poverty	
	Number (thousands)	Percent	Number (thousands)	Percent
Total, all sources [2]	61,019	100	6,851	100
Earnings	52,491	86	4,172	61
Social security	14,248	23	1,407	21
Public assistance	3,567	6	2,357	34
Supplemental security income	1,600	3	608	9
Other transfer payments [3]	10,316	17	888	13
Dividends, interest, and rent	41,084	67	1,638	24
Employee pensions, alimony, annuities, etc.	14,875	24	1,117	16
No income	146	...	146	2

[1] Includes only families; does not include unrelated individuals.
[2] Details do not add to total because some families receive more than one type of income.
[3] Includes unemployment and workers' compensation and payments to veterans.

Source: March 1982 Current Population Survey, reported in Current Population Reports, series P-60, No. 138, table 34, p. 132.

TABLE. 2.—TOTAL NET CHANGE IN BENEFITS AND TAXES ENACTED IN 1981 BY INCOME CATEGORY, CALENDAR YEARS 1982–85

[In millions of current dollars]

	All households	Household income (in 1982 dollars)				
		Less than 10,000	10,000 to 20,000	20,000 to 40,000	40,000 to 80,000	80,000 and over
1982						
Cash benefits	−9,040	−3,960	−2,140	−1,980	−840	−110
Tax reductions	38,080	1,240	4,500	13,460	10,250	8,630
Net	29,040	−2,720	2,360	11,480	9,410	8,520
In-kind benefits	−3,950	−1,140	−1,250	−1,040	−480	−40
Net, including in-kind benefits	25,090	−3,860	1,110	10,440	8,930	8,480
1983						
Cash benefits	−11,950	−5,190	−2,960	−2,740	−990	−80
Tax reductions	82,130	2,340	9,290	28,720	25,780	16,000
Net	70,180	−2,850	6,330	25,980	24,790	15,920
In-kind benefits	−5,560	−1,680	−1,610	−1,430	−790	−50
Net, including in-kind benefits	64,620	−4,530	4,720	24,550	24,000	15,870
1984						
Cash benefits	−11,460	−5,670	−2,780	−2,180	−750	−70
Tax reductions	112,980	3,320	12,950	39,650	36,260	20,800
Net	101,520	−2,350	10,170	37,470	35,500	20,730
In-kind benefits	−6,480	−1,980	−1,890	−1,620	−950	−60
Net, including in-kind benefits	95,040	−4,330	8,280	35,850	34,550	20,670
1985						
Cash benefits	−10,580	−5,850	−2,500	−1,620	−560	−60
Tax reductions	144,120	5,000	17,060	52,340	45,620	24,100
Net	133,540	−850	14,560	50,720	45,060	24,040
In-kind benefits	−6,840	−2,020	−2,040	−1,760	−970	−50
Net, including in-kind benefits	126,700	−2,870	12,520	48,960	44,090	23,990

Note.—Details may not sum to totals because of rounding. Tax and benefit amounts include only those changes directly affecting households.
Source: Congressional Budget Office.

TABLE 3.—TOTAL CHANGE IN TAXES AND BENEFITS ENACTED IN 1982, BY INCOME CATEGORY, CALENDAR YEAR 1983–85

[In millions of current dollars]

	All households	Household income (in 1982 dollars)				
		Less than 10,000	10,000 to 20,000	20,000 to 40,000	40,000 to 80,000	80,000 and over
1983						
Benefit reductions	1,700	950	100	330	290	30
Tax increases	5,340	310	700	1,940	950	1,440
Total	7,050	1,260	810	2,270	1,250	1,470
1984						
Benefit reductions	3,060	1,270	510	790	460	40
Tax increases	6,560	440	930	2,440	1,120	1,630
Total	9,630	1,720	1,440	3,230	1,580	1,670

TABLE 3.—TOTAL CHANGE IN TAXES AND BENEFITS ENACTED IN 1982, BY INCOME CATEGORY, CALENDAR YEAR 1983–85—Continued

[In millions of current dollars]

	All households	Household income (in 1982 dollars)				
		Less than 10,000	10,000 to 20,000	20,000 to 40,000	40,000 to 80,000	80,000 and over
1985						
Benefit reductions	3,460	1,470	600	870	480	40
Tax increases	6,990	510	1,020	2,590	1,140	1,730
Total	10,450	1,980	1,620	3,460	1,620	1,770

Note.—Details may not sum to totals because of rounding. Tax and benefit amounts include only those changes affecting households.
Source: Congressional Budget Office.

Chairman MILLER. Also, with respect to the changes in the Federal budgetary practices over the last couple of years, has the CBO started to do any assessment about whether or not state and local governments have the wherewithal to fill in behind or to increase their level of participation as we withdraw? Would that be available if we requested it?

Ms. RIVLIN. We could give you some indications on that. As you know, State and local governments are not in terrific fiscal shape these days, either. They vary a lot, but we could certainly give you some information on that.

[The following was received for the record:]

CURRENT FISCAL CONDITION OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

The current fiscal condition of state and local governments varies widely. Some states have experienced great financial difficulties as the recession has reduced their revenue-raising capacity and raised their expenses, while others have remained relatively unaffected. Further, federal aid reductions have had varying impact across jurisdictions. At this time, it is difficult to assess, on net, the extent to which states and localities are able or willing to offset federal budget cuts.

One commonly used measure of the fiscal condition is the ending balances recorded by governments. This information is collected each year for state governments, although comparable data are not available for localities. At the close of fiscal year 1982 (which ended on June 30, 1982, for 46 states), 5 states showed negative balances in their general funds, 14 states had balances under 1 percent of expenditures during the year, 9 had balances under 3 percent, while 5 had balances between 3 and 5 percent and 17 had balances over 5 percent (see Table 1). Year-end balances are not, however, a complete measure of a government's fiscal condition. They represent the outcome of choices made by jurisdictions about the level of services desired and the level of taxes residents are willing to pay. Further, they may be confounded by budget practices such as interfund borrowing, whereby funds are transferred from a highway fund in surplus, for example, to the general fund to avoid a deficit.

Another means of examining the fiscal condition of state and local governments is to examine both their capacity to raise revenues and the extent to which they utilize this capacity. While this provides a more complete assessment, such data are available only after a considerable lag, making it unclear at this time whether areas that have experienced the greatest loss in federal aid are those with the greatest capacity to offset such reductions through their own resources.

A commonly used measure of capacity is the representative tax system (RTS), which determines the resources that would be available to a state if it taxed each of eight tax bases at the average rate levied by states and localities.[1] Using this meas-

[1] For details on the RTS, see Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, "Tax Capacity of the Fifty States: Methodology and Estimates," M-134 (March 1982).

ure, displayed in Table 1, states' 1981 tax capacities varied from a low of 72 in Mississippi to a high of 324 in Alaska on a scale indexed so that the average capacity equals 100. Against these measures of tax capacity can be overlaid the tax effort that states and localities exert—that is, the amount of revenues that each state together with its localities raises relative to its capacity. In 1981, tax effort ranged from 61 in Nevada to 184 in Alaska (also indexed so that the average tax effort equals 100).

The estimates of tax capacity and effort can be used both to assess the variation between states and the extent to which individual states are willing to make use of the resources available to them. For example, although the state governments in New Hampshire and Nebraska reported general fund deficits in 1982, their combined state and local tax efforts in 1981 were short of their capacity. On the other hand, Minnesota and Oregon, which also reported 1982 state government deficits, were exercising above-average tax effort applied to average or below-average tax bases that year.

Considerable variation also exists in the extent to which reductions in federal grants affected state and local governments and in their response to these cutbacks, but at this point much of the evidence is anecdotal. State governments appear to have been more affected than local governments because they have primary responsibility for programs that were the focus of relatively large reductions—Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Medicaid. Localities, especially small and rural governments that receive little federal aid, were less affected. While some governments have replaced a share of funding losses with their own resources, the net effect has been a reduction in government spending, rather than simply a transfer of activity from the federal to the state and local level.[2] When further information is available on state and local governments' tax capacity and tax effort and on the precise nature of the cuts, more complete analysis will be possible on the capability and the efforts of state and local governments to offset federal reductions in spending.

TABLE 1.—MEASURES OF THE FISCAL CONDITION OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, BY REGION

State (by census region)	State government end-of-year balance, fiscal year 1982 (as a percent of general fund expenditures)	Tax capacity[1] of State and local governments, 1981 (U.S. average = 100)	Tax effort of State and local governments, 1981 (U.S. average = 100)
New England:			
Connecticut	−1.3	110	103
Maine	2.9	79	113
Massachusetts	.1	96	134
New Hampshire	−10.9	95	74
Rhode Island	.4	80	130
Vermont	0	84	105
Middle Atlantic:			
New Jersey	2.3	105	112
New York	.4	89	171
Pennsylvania	.1	90	105
East North Central:			
Illinois	2.4	104	105
Indiana	0	91	88
Michigan	.1	96	116
Ohio	.8	94	89
Wisconsin	2.1	91	120
West South Central:			
Arkansas	0	82	79
Louisiana	6.9	117	77
Oklahoma	23.3	127	73
Texas	28.6	132	65
West North Central:			
Iowa	1.2	102	98
Kansas	6.9	109	87
Minnesota	−13.8	100	109
Missouri	3.0	92	81

[2] For further detail, see Richard P. Nathan and Fred C. Doolittle, "The Consequence of Cuts," Princeton Urban and Regional Research Center (forthcoming).

TABLE 1.—MEASURES OF THE FISCAL CONDITION OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, BY REGION—Continued

State (by census region)	State government end-of-year balance, fiscal year 1982 (as a percent of general fund expenditures)	Tax capacity [1] of State and local governments, 1981 (U.S. average = 100)	Tax effort of State and local governments, 1981 (U.S. average = 100)
Nebraska	−2.1	97	95
North Dakota	26.2	123	74
South Dakota	7.4	86	93
South Atlantic:			
Delaware	7.9	111	87
Florida	5.4	101	73
Georgia	0	81	97
Maryland	5.3	98	107
North Carolina	3.3	79	95
South Carolina	0	75	95
Virginia	8.4	94	89
West Virginia	6.3	90	83
East South Central:			
Alabama	1.3	74	91
Kentucky	2.0	82	84
Mississippi	3.2	72	94
Tennessee	1.9	79	87
Mountain:			
Arizona	.6	89	106
Colorado	1.0	113	84
Idaho	0	87	87
Montana	9..8	113	92
Nevada	12.7	148	62
New Mexico	18.5	114	89
Utah	3.4	86	97
Wyoming	52.0	216	72
Pacific:			
Alaska	6.2	324	184
California	.5	115	100
Hawaii	17.1	105	126
Oregon	−9.7	99	101
Washington	7.8	99	92

[1] Tax capacity is measured by the representative tax system. See text for details.

Source: General fund balance data from National Governors' Association and National Association of State Budget Officers, "Fiscal Survey of the States 1983" (June 1983). Tax capacity and tax effort data from "Tax Capacity of the 50 States: 1981" (unpublished document from the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations).

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Mr. Marriott.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Dr. Rivlin, I thought you gave excellent testimony. It was very concise, and I hope to go back and read it again so I can understand more what you have said. One question that I have is this. We are appropriating dollars for children and families, either through entitlement programs or through direct appropriations. Do you have any way of measuring the cost effectiveness of the dollars spent?

I aired in my opening statement a concern about how many dollars get caught up in the network and how many really get down to where they do good for the kids. Do you have any way of measuring the cost effectiveness of the dollars that we spend?

Ms. RIVLIN. Only on some programs, and it is a real problem. It is very hard. I have been involved in the evaluation for most of my career, and it is very hard to sort these things out.

There are programs for which there is reasonably good evidence that the program really does something, that it improves the health of the child or the educational level, as measured by tests or as measured by future continuation in education. I mentioned a couple of them. There really is quite impressive data showing that the chapter I programs really work. Such data were not available for a long time, but they are beginning to come in.

But for many others, there are very limited data; and for some, we are probably never going to be able to sort out exactly what they do do.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Could you make available to this committee whatever accurate information you have along those lines?

Ms. RIVLIN. Yes, we can. And we will also point out the areas where it is not adequate.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Thank you very much.

[The following was received for the record:]

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE STUDY OF THE INTERGOVERNMENT GRANTS SYSTEM

The Congressional Budget Office is currently concluding a major study of the intergovernment grants system, The Federal Government in a Federal System. The report compiles descriptions of a wide variety of federal programs and assessments of their effectiveness in meeting their intended objectives. Many of the programs of primary importance to families—for example, the Social Services Block Grant, Headstart, and Title I, Chapter I of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (funding for compensatory education)—have been included in the study. We would be happy to make available copies of the report as soon as it is released, which is expected to be later this summer.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Lehman.

Mr. LEHMAN. I want to thank Dr. Rivlin for her testimony. I think it is exactly on target, especially in regards to the task force I am chairman of, which is the Prevention Strategies Task Force, and I believe that the other colleagues on that task force and the ranking minority member will be working with you as time goes on, because we need your input.

And I hope that the committee that is seeking your successor is not working too hard, because we need your help for a long time. And if the occasion should be that you do go back to Brookings, I would like to feel that we could call on your help and the help of that institution in regards to what we are seeking in this particular committee and in our particular task force.

Thank you.

Ms. RIVLIN. Absolutely.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Fish.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And my congratulations also.

Thank you, Doctor, very much. Just one issue. Just before your conclusion, you talk about the data base and the lack of information on income status of children and families and the benefits they receive, and you suggest the committee may wish to focus on the improvement of data collection efforts.

And I wonder at this point if you had any recommendations, or do you think we are on the track in terms of the witnesses that we have today and will have in the future. Is there any special course that we should follow to accumulate the proper data?

Ms. RIVLIN. No; it seems to me you are on the right track. But we would be very happy to sit down with the staff of the committee and share our thoughts about areas in which the data were particularly inadequate or might be collected without too much difficulty to improve the situation.

Mr. FISH. Thank you very much.

Chairman MILLER. Congresswoman Mikulski.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Thank you.

Dr. Rivlin, I have two questions. One, on figure 2, pertaining to female-headed households and male-headed households, according to figure 2 an enormous amount of the children living in poverty live in female-headed households, and, though it dropped in the seventies, it seems to be rising in the 1980's.

Could you share with the committee why it is that female-headed households are more poor than either intact or male-headed households?

Ms. RIVLIN. I think there are basically two reasons. One is that, on the average, a female-headed household has fewer earners. Our so-called male-headed households—please forgive the expression—are predominantly husband-wife households, and in many of them there are two adult earners, not just one.

But besides that, of course, the earnings of women are just less. Women often have a shorter work history. They have not been in the labor force as long. But even when they have, on the average women are in less desirable jobs and their earnings are less.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Thank you.

The last question I have goes to the issue of data collection and the cost-benefit issues. I believe it was in the late sixties or early seventies, then Senator Mondale recommended something called the family impact statement, and others suggested it, which was that when we formulate national policies there would be something called a family impact statement to see what it meant exactly on its impact on the families.

Are you familiar with that? Would that be a useful tool or would it just be undue paperwork, additional paperwork, that would not then be able to tell us what we want to do, which is to know the impact on the families of what we are doing.

Ms. RIVLIN. I remember that suggestion. I guess my own reaction to it would be that the spirit of it is right, that when the Congress enacts new legislation or fails to enact new legislation it should think very carefully and assemble as much information as possible about what that legislation will do to our society and what is it doing to families and children.

But I have the feeling that formalizing it into something called a family impact statement might not do much good. It might generate a lot of gobbledygook and statistics that did not mean very much and would not help very much.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions. I would like to wish Dr. Rivlin well in whatever she does, and I happen to think she would make a great OMB Director one day. [Laughter.]

Ms. RIVLIN. The job is not open. [Laughter.]

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Coats.

Mr. COATS. I was going to welcome you, Dr. Rivlin, as a Hoosier, and I realized no one else in this room would probably know what a Hoosier was. [Laughter.]

I am sorry, my colleague from Indiana has arrived. [Laughter.]

But welcome anyway, and thank you for your testimony here this morning.

I would like to pursue just one area. You have indicated that the rise in one-parent families is due to a number of factors, including social and economic trends. In your opinion how much of the increase in one-parent families is due to economic trends and how much might be due to other social trends?

I see us in a cycle with one-parent families. There is only one wage earner, that wage earner is probably female without adequate work experience and therefore unable to qualify for high-paying jobs. It is just a cycle.

Can you give me any guidance in that area? Am I specific enough?

Ms. RIVLIN. As I read the data, and the observations, I am led to believe that the increase in the number of divorces and separations and single-parent families shows that something basic is going on in our society and that it is evolving over a long period independent of the ups and downs of the economy. I would not lay this change at the door of the recession, for instance. It has been going on much longer.

And, with respect to women, I think it is part of a new role that has both good and bad aspects. A part of the reason that we have more women living alone and supporting themselves and their children is that they can do that now. They cannot do it as well as men, but they can do it a lot better than they used to be able to. And so that is part of the price we pay, I think, for the increasing independence of women.

Mr. COATS. Well, I appreciate that perspective, because I think too often Congress is tempted to treat the symptoms rather than looking at the cause. I recognize that we need to look at the types of assistance which are available and determine in what form, amount and manner they should be provided.

However, we also need to look at the causes of the problem. Otherwise, we are always just treating the symptoms and playing catchup. In my particular district, for instance, we had during the decade of the seventies, a great growth in prosperity, yet our increase in one-parent families was nearly twice the national average. We experienced a 130-percent increase in single-parent families between 1970 and 1980 in the Fort Wayne metropolitan area which as you know is not a wide open swinging town.

This made me wonder just what caused that dramatic increase in one-parent families. Obviously, it was not the economy, and it was not the recession. These figures were collected by the Census Bureau before the recession hit our area.

And looking back, I suspect the increase in one-parent families resulted from a change in attitudes on the part of people in terms of what the family unit should be. Additionally the passing in Indiana of a no-fault divorce law has been a major cause of some of our problems with one-parent families.

Ms. RIVLIN. I would agree with that. Indeed, if you look at the demographic statistics, divorce is positively correlated with economic indicators, presumably because, when times are better, people who might have stayed together can afford to get a divorce.

Mr. COATS. You are not suggesting that we prolong the recession in order to keep—[Laughter.]

Chairman MILLER. It is the intent of the Chair to try to get two more questions in, and then for the next panel we will start with those people who did not have an opportunity to question Dr. Rivlin.

One of our panelists has a date at the White House later, and we are trying to accommodate everyone the best we can.

Congressman McHugh—I am sorry. Congressman Weiss.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am not going to ask a question. I really have just a brief comment to make in regard to the last line of questioning. Some of us heard Dr. Alvin Toffler yesterday, who pointed out that the divorce rate in Moscow is about equivalent to the divorce rate in Los Angeles. So that it isn't just what is happening in Indiana that is the problem; it is a little bit broader than that.

And what I want to say about the testimony is that once again you have demonstrated that numbers sometimes can be much more eloquent than words, and the trouble that we have around here is that we have a tendency to believe that two plus two equals three. I welcome your testimony.

Thank you.

Ms. RIVLIN. Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Bliley.

Mr. BLILEY. Dr. Rivlin, we appreciate your testimony and the statistics that you have brought. You indicated in your testimony that the recession has a great bearing on poverty among young families with young children. The best way to end the recession, of course, is to get more people back to work. And would you not agree that lower interest rates would assist in that endeavor?

Ms. RIVLIN. I do, and that gives me the opening for my usual budget speech, that the way to get interest rates down is to get the deficit down.

Mr. BLILEY. Thank you very much.

Chairman MILLER. That is music to Mr. Bliley's ears.

Ms. Rivlin, thank you very much for your time and for your testimony. I think as the committee continues in the months ahead to look at your testimony, as well as that of future panelists, we will have a much better sense of how economic and budgetary trends affect children, youth, and families.

Thank you very much.

Ms. RIVLIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And we stand ready to assist the committee as you move ahead. And if anybody has a burning question they did not get to ask, call me up.

Chairman MILLER. We will assume that members with questions may submit them to you, and that they will become a part of the record.

The first panel that the committee will hear from will be made up of Dr. T. Berry Brazelton, who is the chief of the Child Development

Unit, Children's Hospital Medical Center, and associate professor of pediatrics at Harvard Medical School; Dr. Harold Richman, who is the director of the Social Policy Research Center and director of the Children's Policy Research Project of the National Opinion Research Center, and the Hermon Dunlop Smith professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago; Dr. Gerald Holton, who is the Mallinckrodt professor of physics and professor of history and science at Harvard University and visiting professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

I might add for the benefit of the committee, that Dr. Brazelton was recently selected to be the keynote speaker at the Cabinet-wide dinner to kick off the Year of Healthy Mothers, Healthy Children; and that Dr. Holton was part of the President's Committee on Excellence which just made its report to the Congress.

Ms. RIVLIN. May I interject, Mr. Chairman, that Dr. Brazelton was my first pediatrician and I have a very healthy 27-year-old daughter. [Laughter.]

Chairman MILLER. If you would please come forward, gentlemen.

Welcome to the committee. If you have a prepared statement, it will be entered in the record in its entirety, and I would like you to proceed in the manner in which you are most comfortable. We appreciate you taking your time to come and to talk with us this morning.

Dr. Brazelton.

STATEMENT OF T. BERRY BRAZELTON, CHIEF, CHILD DEVELOPMENT UNIT, CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL MEDICAL CENTER, AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF PEDIATRICS, HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL

Dr. BRAZELTON. Mr. Miller and Mr. Marriott and members of the Congress, I am terribly impressed with how many of you are here, considering what I have heard from other Congressmen, that children do not vote, and also their families do not vote, and aren't a real constituency. This, unfortunately turns out to be true, that young families are too busy with their children to get in and vote. So I am impressed with how many of you are here in spite of that.

And I really think this is an historical moment. It is a time, I think, to raise some questions like Mr. Coats raised, about what is behind some of these problems that we are talking about. We have made enormous progress in improving jobs, health, and medicine, for example advances in obstetrics and neonatal care in my area. I am a pediatrician interested in small babies and in families, I have been in practice now for 30 years in Cambridge, Mass., with middle-class and lower class families, I have been trying to understand some of the dynamics in those families to try to keep them together, as well as those that split them apart, and am trying to understand how the child can become the focus for some of those forces, if you will.

The improvements we have made, and many of those are due to current Government programs which members of this committee have fought very hard to preserve and are having to fight even harder right now. So I commend you for the ones that we have preserved and I hope you will continue to fight for them.

But let me point out that some of the improvements are destructive. Deficits in health care for subgroups of our population in child health indices still exist and are widening. I would like to suggest some new priorities for the coming years, in which a strategy of prevention is supported.

We cannot afford therapeutic medicine any longer. It costs $365 a day to have a child in the ward at the Children's Hospital in Boston. If you have a child admitted with the diagnosis of failure to thrive, a disease due to a preventible failure in parent-child interaction—and we have three to four a week—it costs us $50,000 before we can get that child out of the hospital, and then it is into rather second-rate solutions.

Again, if we have a premature infant born and it is admitted as a healthy premature baby to the Children's Hospital or to the Boston Hospital for Women, we know that with a healthy premature it is going to be $50,000 before we get him out on the average. And it goes on from there.

We not only cannot afford the kind of expensive therapeutic medicine we have got, but we are not reaching people for prevention. Let me quote you something from Washington, D.C., which I am sure all of you are familiar with, but I want to use it as a takeoff. The national average for mortality, infant mortality—and that means dead children, which is just the tip of the iceberg—is now 12.8. It has dropped from 16 in 1960 to 12.8 in 1980.

That is really fantastic in terms of improvements in medical care. But in Washington, D.C., the average for District of Columbia is 23.8. Blacks are 28, which is almost as high as any developing country in the world. If you go to the whites, they are 8.

What are we talking about? We are talking about not reaching target populations, because they are not getting prenatal care, they are not getting proper nutrition in pregnancy. Their mothers are depleted, exhausted, alcoholic, addicted—representing failures in society and in our system of reaching them and preventing their failure. These children at birth are born with 60 percent of the number of cells they might have had if they had had optimal intrauterine experiences. These children are already failures in our society.

We are now talking about fixed deficits, and if you want to know why poverty reproduces itself. If you wonder why, I come from Texas. We used to be scornful about how many of the blacks would stand around on street corners looking lazy and decrepit and hopeless. If you wonder, think about having 60 percent of your brain cells and 60 percent of your thyroid and your adrenal to function with, and you can see why the energy level is low, why the adaptation to complex situations is not there for them to fall back on. Of course they felt like failures in our society. Do we want that?

This is something we have got to face. The tragedy of this is that we have good nutrition, good prenatal care, and adequate access to health service now in supportive environments. For instance, the WIC program which was just mentioned by Alice Rivlin has already proved itself cost effective in studies that I have read about.

The incidence of low birth rate has been cut down by 20 percent, and the cost effectiveness studies in Mississippi have shown that for every dollar spent on the program $1.42 was saved in reduced

medicaid costs during the first 30 days of newborn life by giving mothers nutritional supplements in pregnancy.

In addressing the issue of reaching people, if you examine the WIC program it is not the food, it is the education for mothers as to why you take the food that has made the difference. In mothers that I take care of tell me that: "I learned about nutrition, I learned about why I needed to eat, while I was pregnant and that made the difference."

So if we can put over not only food programs but some concept of why they are important, that this is important to you because you are important, we may be able to reach people who need us. It seems to me that we have also got to address another area in my field, the new morbidity. By that I mean child abuse, failure to thrive, school adjustment problems, learning disabilities, teenage pregnancy and suicide, environmental hazards, accidents, drinking, drug abuse.

All of those you will hear plenty about, and I do not want to talk about them particularly, except that I think they are pointing to a breakdown in our society. I think we are having plenty of indications, that we should indeed examine the roots of this failure in our society. I think we are adding to the expectation for failure that we are creating in our society. We are not creating an expectation to succeed in recipients of our welfare programs.

If we have an increase in divorce in families and all the breakdowns we are talking about, is there any way to change that? I think there may be. Let me take you back to a study by Prof. Robert Rosenthal in which he took first grade students, randomized them and handed them to two first grade teachers. He said to one teacher, your children have an IQ of 90; and to the other teacher he said, these children have an IQ of 110.

At the end of first grade they indeed had 90 and 110. That is called the Pygmalion effect. He told me the other day that you can do this across species. The reason I am telling you this is that this looks like what we are doing to our underprivileged population.

He said he took a bunch of rats and labeled them dumb rats and smart rats and then got his graduate students to put them through a maze. All of the dumb rats could not get through the maze; all of the smart rats ran right through. But meanwhile, he had filmed his graduate students. The dumb rats were picked up with an abrupt gesture and dropped into the maze. They could not stagger through the maze. All of the smart rats got picked up gently and fondled and they ran right through.

Does this sound like the way we treat people in the admitting ward of our hospitals? If somebody comes into a hospital looking dejected, poor, black, Chicano, they get a dumb rat treatment. Nobody knows how it comes about. It is an expectation that gets set from the first.

And the other side of the Rosenthal effect is that people who get treated that way begin to expect that of themselves. They begin to expect to be failures or dumb rats. I think with all the program changes you are thinking about, maybe you ought to think about that side of every program: Are we fostering a dumb rat syndrome? Are we really thinking about creating smart rats by our Government handouts?

Because we must do it. Let me tell you in my own field, some areas that I think we could approach, and then you ought to get people from other fields to supplement what I can offer you.

My own field is the area of newborn babies. I'd like for you to think about some of the forces that make parents and babies reachable to become smart rats, in pregnancy and at the time of the new baby. Let me mention a few and then just show you how we can work, because these are opportunities for us to reach out and perhaps reinforce forces in people that are available around the new baby and are available in pregnancy.

Because all young parents—not some, but all—go through a kind of inner turmoil about having a new baby: "Will I ever get to be a parent? If I get to be a parent, will I have to be like my parent? I sure do not want to be like that." Or "if I do not think I will ever get to be a parent, do I want this baby at all? Have I damaged this baby?"

All young parents dream about the kinds of damaged babies they might have. These forces are getting brought to the surface, and I see them as coping mechanisms for readying a parent to make it with that new baby when it comes. Even with a damaged infant, we can help them to prevent disability.

Because these forces are being made available in pregnancy, in 10 minutes in my office—and this is a cost-effective 10 minutes—if I have a chance to have two questions with the mother and one question with the father, it nets me 12 to 15 hours of work later on in terms of reaching those people.

This is cost effective. If I have one question to the father in that 10 minutes, 50 percent of my fathers never miss an appointment in the first year and 80 percent of them come in for four times through the first year.

This is the kind of capturing of fathers that I am talking about and it is not just middle class. This pertains to lower classes also, particularly people who have never gotten anything from the system.

When you come to the newborn baby, let me tell you about that because this is my field of research. A newborn baby right out of the uterus does things that capture people for him. These behaviors capture the adults around him that are important, but they also capture us, and they capture us for the family unit.

The newborn baby right out of the uterus will look in your face and start following your face, and go back and forth and up and down for 90 seconds without losing your face. And as he does he gets more excited. As he does it, your heart begins to race, you begin to breathe faster, and you realize that he has made you attached to him.

Well then, you take that same baby and put his head in one hand and his bottom in the other and talk to him, and he stops moving and his face knits and he turns to your face and looks at you. At the point where he looks at you, you feel reaction in yourself.

If, I put a mother one one side and I stand on the other and we both talk, he always turns to the female voice. Babies are programed for this. As he reaches her face, looks for it and finds it. I have never had a mother yet who did not automatically reach for

her baby. And if I gave him up, which I do not always do, they say, "You know me already." They are "hooked" on the baby.

Now, this is black, white, teenage, any kind of mother; any kind of female is going to be captured by that baby. Here is another reaction. If you put a baby up here on your shoulder after cuddling him he will pick his head up and look around the room and then shove his soft little fuzzy scalp right in to the corner of your neck.

As he gets his little scalp in the corner of our neck, you feel it and automatically you pull him in closer. Then he locks his legs around you and then he shoves in even harder. I began to realize that at that point I got sort of a clutch in my chest when I felt a soft little scalp there. I watched breast feeding mothers, and they let milk down and wet their gowns at that point.

So the baby is programed to capture the mother, bring her to him, and keep her there. We must reinforce her to be available at that point—we have done an experiment at the Boston City Hospital with 60 ghetto teenage black mothers. They were all under 16. We took 60 of these young women and randomized them into 3 groups.

For the first group, my researcher a pediatrician said to these young women, "I have just seen your baby and, I am a pediatrician. Do you have any questions?" None of these young women had a question. They have never had a question yet answered by the system. Why should they have one then?

So he told them what you usually tell them as a pediatrician, how to feed your baby, what to look for in illnesses all of the usual stuff, for 10 minutes.

For the second group, he described their babies to them and told them how he played with them and what they did, these behaviors I was just describing. Then he said, do you have questions? Half of these teenage mothers had questions and he spent 10 minutes with them answering their questions.

For the third group, he spent 10 minutes showing them their babies and describing the significance of behavior to them and sharing it with them. All of them had questions.

And the next day they were scored on the ward for two things: One, how they behaved as people on an optimal, average, poor rating; and how sensitive they were to their babies.

All 20 of these young women who had 10 minutes of shared behavior with the pediatrician—or a professional—scored optimal, not only on how they behaved toward their babies but how they behaved as people on the ward. Only 5 of the other 40 scored even average.

Now, Tiffany Fields in Florida has done a piece of research which shows 12 to 15 IQ points gained by this same kind of shared interaction in the important period around birth. If we want to reach people, there are ways we can do it. These are instances in my own field where we can reach them.

I could give you four or five more opportunities in infancy when parents can be reached, this is the way I think we have got to think. If we do not start trying to reach people, we can keep on bemoaning the money we are spending and cry about how people feel about themselves and the breakdown in our society, but I do not think we are doing our job yet.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much, Dr. Brazleton. Just looking at this committee while you were talking, I do not think you were boring anyone. It is the quietest a committee room has been in a long time.

Dr. Holton, I saw you nodding your head a couple of times, talking about expectations of our children, and I think you have something to say about that.

STATEMENT OF GERALD HOLTON, MALLINCKRODT PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY OF SCIENCE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AND VISITING PROFESSOR, MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Mr. HOLTON. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I first want to congratulate you on the establishment of this committee. And next, I have an urgent scientific question: Since two of the people sitting in this chair today have had Dr. T. Berry Brazelton as their pediatrician, I wonder if this happens in all of your hearings. [Laughter.]

If so, we have a new scientific law.

I limit myself today to observations on the role of education, and I will speak from my own perspective of having been sent through an educational system in Vienna, guaranteed by the Ministry of Education to be a terrible experience, and then teaching, and I hope somewhat better than I was taught, for the next some 40 years, and also most recently as a member of the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

Coming from very different directions, the 18 members of this Commission were pushed by the data to a unanimous conclusion. Much of what has been found out about education has been heard during these weeks, and perhaps you have become deaf to the central point.

The central point is that history and the American educational system are marching off in precisely opposite directions, and that the gap between them has every indication of widening. On the one hand, the world awaiting every student out there who is now in school is driven by ever more sophisticated knowledge and technology, and has become the battleground between us and well determined, well educated, strongly motivated competitors for our markets.

The main defense and opportunity for every young person and for the Nation itself lies in the ability and commitment for lifelong learning, building on sound achievement in the early years. The time is long past when the rate of change was so slow that most people could coast through life on what they learned in the early years, staying in the same kind of job, doing it more or less in the same way to the end, and perhaps having their sons and daughter do it the same way, too.

Today, a high school diploma or a college degree means nothing unless it is a certification of readiness for more learning, more training, more retraining, for the next four or five decades. Whether they will be managers or teachers, blue-collar workers or doctors, each of the 1½ million new recruits entering our economy

every year will be rapidly obsolete if they cannot be part of a constantly learning society.

We cannot allow any substantial group to be cut off from participating in this new national task, to sink down through negligence or the belief that social darwinism still can work. We cannot afford it, because at the very least we must fear that this policy would create, is even now creating, an underclass whose fate is not only an immediate tragedy for the person and family concerned, but a time bomb for the Nation as a whole.

Thus, the imperative of today and for the foreseeable future is an ascending level of quality education for all our young people. But what did our commission find? What is happening out there to assure that young Americans through sound preparation become not the victims of history but the beneficiaries of its opportunities?

Our findings were ominous in practically every detail. Although there are heroic exceptions which are documented in our report, the schools are being outrun by events. The situation is one which has been characterized in the following phrases that you heard perhaps on television yesterday:

> Our nation is at risk. If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war.
>
> Moreover, we have dismantled the essential support systems which have made some gains possible, and have squandered the gains in student achievement in the wake of Sputnik achievements. In effect, we have committed an act of unthinking educational disarmament.

For example, although the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 directs the NSF to strengthen science education at all levels, the NSF last year terminated its Science Education Directorate and practically zeroed out its activities.

Now, there are lots of indicators of the risks that we found, and I recommend you take a look at the report of our bipartisan Commission, just released, called "A Nation At Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform." I can tell you in a nutshell a few of the statistics.

The functional illiteracy among youth runs as high as 40 percent among minorities. Nearly 40 percent of our youth across the board cannot draw inferences from written material; one-third cannot solve a mathematics problem requiring more than two or three steps.

A recent study by Educational Products Information Exchange revealed that a majority of students are able to master 80 percent of the material in the subject matter text before they even open the book, the reason being that the textbooks are boring, overlap, and do not take seriously the talents and ingenuity of our students to start with.

Perhaps, as a result, the level of spending for textbooks in our schools, which should be on the order of 5 to 10 percent of school budget, is now down to 0.7 percent.

What is needed to serve the children and youth to which your committee will attend? Our recommendations, again, are in our report. I hope that you will look at it, and at the Twentieth Century Fund report to be published next week.

Here are some points on which I hope you will hold hearings, commission studies, and eventually make appropriate legislation. The first concerns the so-called educational system. All children have to passthrough it willy-nilly. What is it?

It is a $215 billion a year effort across the board, from kindergarten to graduate school, involving 30 percent of the population full time as student or educator. Each of the roughly 20,000 public schools, of the colleges and additional private schools and church schools has its own treasured degree of autonomy. There is, thank God, no Federal system of education. We have escaped that danger.

But now we are in an equally intolerable bind. The incoherence and lack of articulation between all these different schools, between the levels from primary grades up within each school combined with a complete dispersal of responsibility for every aspect—funding, monitoring of achievement, defining what has to be taught in classes—have made it practically impossible for high-quality education to exist without extraordinary effort. You must look at how the "system" can be made to work.

Second, the teacher. Every child has to pass through the hands of many teachers. The working life of a large fraction of schoolteachers in this country has become unacceptable. It is no longer a vocation or a profession for most of them. An increasing portion of those who stay on in teaching is being drawn from the bottom quarter of the high school or college class.

The average salary after 12 years of teaching is only $17,000 per year, part of which goes to pay off the debts of the graduate school years. Most of them have little influence on critical professional decisions, such as selection of books, promotion, tenure, and retention.

Half of the newly employed teachers in science, English, and math do not have the qualifications to teach these subjects, let alone identifying and challenging gifted and talented students in their classes. If access to quality education for every child capable of benefiting is the name of the game from now on, your committee will have the charge to find out what is wrong with schoolteaching in this country, and why it is that States and localities by themselves seem now helpless to correct it.

Third, the textbook industry. Every child going through school spends endless hours with those textbooks. Take a look at that industry. We have of course, avoided a national curriculum imposed from Washington, but instead of Federal control we have in essence commercial control through the industry.

Again with a few glorious exceptions, it is not too much to say that the large majority of textbooks at the precollege level is produced very much like entertainment on TV, geared to high volume, standardized manufacture by profit centers, and big conglomerates employing in-house labor and catering to the lowest common denominator. No wonder that the most frequently encountered word characterizing school today is boredom.

If you care for the minds of children and youth, promise yourself to look into the educational industry, which now includes also the computer industry, which may capture a lion's share of school funds before they have even tested out the software.

Funding.—This is in many ways the most complex puzzle, the general inadequacy of funds from State, local, and Federal sources.

The public is enormously confused about what it takes to fund education and who should do it. The Gallup Poll of 1982 on public attitudes toward the public schools records the overwhelming response that education is extremely important and that public education should be the top priority for additional Federal funds.

Education occupies first place for allocating additional Federal funds, way above such alternatives as health care, welfare, and military defense.

Moreover, the public tells the pollsters it wants a harder subject-matter curriculum for the schools. But when they come to vote for proposition 13 or 2½, these ambitions do not translate into enthusiasm for local taxes. Evidently the public wants State and local officials to have primary control and responsibility for governing the schools, but when it comes to financing they believe, by a large margin, that the Federal Government has to enter too.

In the unanimous report of our Commission, we say: "The Federal Government has the primary responsibility to identify the national interest in education. It should also help fund and support efforts to protect and promote that interest. It must provide the national leadership to insure that the Nation's public and private resources are marshaled to address the issues."

As we have seen in the discussions in the Congress in the last few months, the public is indeed ready for this leadership and is I think not enchanted with the phaseout of programs that have worked, which is happening now. I hope your committee will take a hard look at this. A learning society means investment in education, not a quick fix, and it will be investment on a considerable scale.

Fifth and last, jobs. And here I merely want to say that you have a great deal of talent at your disposal to look at the future jobs for which our schools should be preparing our youths.

Will high tech industries increase or decrease jobs? What will be the likely mix of technology-based and service-based employment? Such information will help the schools do their jobs.

The industrial revolution made the plow and the hammer obsolete, but the current revolution may be making, sooner or later most labor obsolete in which part of the intelligence processes can be incorporated in a machine. Therefore, whether it is printing, or routine assembly, or many other kinds of manufacture, whenever a job requires not very complex tasks, the machine is probably going to take it over within the lifetime of those now joining the work force. For them, and for all the rest, the salvation will lie in having wide enough competence in the academic basics to fit in ever new ways into the ever more sophisticated jobs that will remain or be newly created.

I finally turn to what I believe to be your most difficult task. The five structural defects which I have enumerated above, may not be the worst. Is there perhaps a deeper explanation why we are in this disarray in education of our young, particularly this proud and rich Nation?

We do not lack cleverness, and we love our children. But in one certain respect, it is not too much to say that our young people are

the most neglected fraction of the population, and that they are, or at least were until this committee was formed, no better than orphans. My point is that our country's basic laws are so structured that the attention Congress gives from time to time to the young and their needs flows from good impulses or sudden excitements, from the challenge of Sputnik or Honda, so to speak—but not from the continuing necessity of law.

For our elected officials, the young do not have the power of either vote or money or lobbies of their own, and if one interprets the Constitution and the 10th amendment narrowly, and as I have heard it done repeatedly in this town, one can even speak of the phasing out most Federal responsibility for education, the privatization of our educational system. There, the central interest of child and youth is at stake.

In other advanced democracies where the young also have no votes and no lobbies, there is generally at least a national mandate for education in the basic law. I, therefore, suggest to you—and I know some of you will not be ready to consider it for a time, and perhaps for years—that as you hold the kind of hearings I have outlined, you also study the effect of the omission of a Federal role for education in our Constitution. This omission was quite understandable 194 years ago, with education on everybody's lips today, was not of the same urgency. If you look at the Federalist Papers and the Constitution, education was not mentioned.

It was not seen as central to the life and destiny of our people then, though we should remember each of our early Presidents asked Congress for an amendment that would include education. Perhaps we should be thankful that they did not burden us with a solution then that would now be outdated information. But as this Nation goes to the 21st century, the time has come to think again, as we have done some two dozen times, including giving votes to 18-year-olds, whether the development of history has not uncovered another orphan group that needs protection in the Constitution.

The preamble of the Constitution says that the Constitution's purpose is "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our prosperity." All of this is now at risk if our young do not have an education appropriate to the challenge before us. Depending on the whim or good will of executive agencies in each administration after the other, without finding guidance in the Constitution to this effect. I believe you will find we need a right to education amendment.

I am fully aware that Alexander Hamilton, in the last of the Federalist Papers warned against amendments; that all such proposals have a danger of unintended consequences; and that the effort would be immense. Nevertheless, to focus your minds on the peculiarly orphaned status of the American child and youth when it comes to constitutional responsibility, I hope you accept the challenge to think through, without resorting to the obvious bugaboos of state-directed thought control, central bureaucracies, and the like, how to bring the continuing needs of the young in education and the language of the Constitution together. What is needed is language to the effect that "the Federal Government has the pri-

mary responsibility for identifying the national interest in education, and to help fund and support efforts to protect and promote that interest." We must have specific warrant in the basic law, a compass for aiding navigation, to insure that the Nation's public and private resources are marshaled to offer each child an education directed to the full development of mind, character, and opportunity.

Nothing in this interferes with the prerogative of parents to choose the kind of education their children shall be given. And nothing in this interferes with the most precious outcome of any education, which is the love of liberty. On the contrary, as John Stuart Mill wrote in his very last paragraph of the great essay "On Liberty": "The worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a State which postpones the interests of their mental expansion and elevation * * * will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished." Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention.

[Prepared statement of Gerald Holton follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GERALD HOLTON, MALLINCKRODT PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY OF SCIENCE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

I welcome the establishment of this Select Committee, and am nonored to have been asked to address you in this historic first hearing. Your agenda is immense, and perhaps more challenging than you yet know.

I shall limit myself to observations in the role of educator, in the hope of helping you in your task of framing some of the chief educational issues affecting young people today and likely to do so in the next few years. I shall speak from my own perspective of some four decades in classrooms in the United States and on occasional leaves in other countries, culminating in the intensive study during the last 18 months of the state of American education, as a member of the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

Much of what has been found out about the current state of education in this country, particularly at the precollege level, is quite startling, and during the past 2 months you must have heard some of the statistics so often that there is a danger of becoming deaf to the central point.

In a nutshell, the central point is that history and the American educational system are marching off in precisely opposite directions, and that the gap between them has every indication of widening.

On the one hand, the world awaiting every student now in school is driven by ever more sophisticated knowledge and technology, and has become the battleground of determined, well educated, and strongly motivated foreign competitors for our markets. The main defense, hope, and opportunity for a young person, and for the nation itself, now lies in the ability and commitment to lifelong learning, building on sound achievement in the fundamentals in the early years.

The time is long passed when the nation could hope to thrive through the brainpower of a few and the brawn of the rest, when the picture changed so slowly that most people could coast through life on what they learned in the early years, staying in the same kind of job and doing it more or less the same way to the end. Today, a high school diploma or a college degree means little unless they are certification not only of achievement but of readiness for more learning, more training, more retraining for the four or five decades that follow, as history puts ever new and ever unexpected challenges before us. Whether they will be managers or teachers, blue collar workers or doctors, each of the million and a half new recruits entering our economy every year will be a rapidly obsolete if they cannot be part of a constantly learning society, each to his or her own best ability.

We cannot allow any substantial group to be cut off from participating in this new national task, or to sink down through negligence and the belief that Social Darwinism still can work. We cannot afford it because at the very least we must fear that such a policy will create, is even now creating, an underclass that is not only an immediate tragedy for the person and family concerned, but a time-bomb for the nation as a whole.

Thus the imperative of today and the foreseeable future is an ascending level of quality education for all our young people. But what is it that we find? What is happening to assure that young Americans through sound preparatory education, become not the victims of history but the beneficiaries of its opportunities? Our findings were ominous in practically every detail.

Although there are individual, heroic examples to the contrary, the educational situation in which more and more of our young people find themselves can be best characterized by the image of a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens their very future. The first page of our Commission Report[1] carries these sentences: "Our nation is at risk * * * if an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as a act of war. As it stands, we have allowed this to happen to ourselves. We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge. Moreover, we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make those gains possible. We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament."

Here are a few indicators of the risk that we found:

About 13 percent of all 17-year-olds in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate. And functional illiteracy among minority youth may run as high as 40 percent.

Many 17-year-olds do not possess the "higher order" intellectual skills we should expect of them. Nearly 40 percent cannot draw inferences from written material; only ⅓ can write a persuasive essay; and only ⅓ can solve a mathematics problem requiring several steps.

Average achievement of high school students on most standardized tests is now lower than 26 years ago, when Sputnik was launched.

The College Board Scholastic Aptitude Test results (SAT) demonstrate a virtually unbroken decline from 1963 to 1980. So do College Board Achievement tests.

Both the number and the proportion of students demonstrating superior achievement on the SATs have also declined. A larger and larger fraction of the educational effort in colleges, business, and the military is going to costly remedial education and training programs in basic skills such as reading, writing, spelling, and computation. One-quarter of the Navy's recent recruits cannot read at the 9th-grade level, the minimum needed simply to understand written safety instructions.

Students have migrated from vocation and college preparatory programs in high schools to general track in larger numbers, their proportion increasing from 12 percent in 1964 to 42 percent in 1979.

In many other industrial nations, courses in mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, and geography start early and are required of all students; the time spent on these subjects, in terms of class hours, is about three times that of even the most science-oriented U.S. students, i.e., those relatively few who select four years of science and mathematics in secondary school.

The pre-college textbooks during the past decade have been "written-down" or "dumbed-down" by their publishers to ever-lower reading levels.

A recent study by Education Products Information Exchange revealed that a majority of students was able to master 80 percent of the material in their subject matter texts before they had even opened the book.

Expenditures for texts and other instructional materials have declined by 50 percent over the past 17 years. The level of spending is now down to 0.7 percent of the operating costs of schools, roughly 1/10 the recommended level for quality education.

What is needed to serve the children and youth to which your Select Committee attends? I shall not go over our Commission recommendations concerning increased time, expectations, standards, logistics, and financial support. These recommendations are available in the Report published two days ago. Other reports of this sort will reinforce it, including the Twentieth Century Fund Report to be released next week. Your purposes today will be served better if I attempt at least a sketch of the main outlines of the tasks that I think are before your Committee. I urge you to look carefully at the structural defects that are the major cause of our present predicament. I propose that you start with five topics for hearings and Commission studies, leading eventually to appropriate legislation:

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[1] A Nation At Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform, a report to the Nation and the Secretary of Education, U.S. Department of Education by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, April 1983, available from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, stock #065-000-00177-2. I have used the language of the report for the indicators and in other passages of this presentation.

1. *The so-called educational system* —Every child passes through it, and its quality or lack of it is impressed on every child for life. What is this system? Eighty thousand primary and secondary schools and 3,500 colleges, each proud of its degree of automony, even if this automony is hemmed in by largely ad hoc rules of state and federal government. It does have the advantage that it doesn't saddle us with a federal Ministry of Education which would impose its bureaucratic ideas on the whole country. Having escaped this danger, we now find ourselves, however, in an equally intolerable bind. The incoherence and inarticulation between different schooling levels, from primary grades up, and between different schools even in neighboring localities, combined with the dispersal of responsibility for every aspect (from funding to defining and monitoring achievement) have made it practically impossible for high-quality education to exist without extraordinary effort. You must look at the "system" on which we so depend, for in operational terms it may well be said that it no longer exists.

2. *The teacher.*—Every child has to pass through the hands of many teachers. But the professional working life of teachers in this country is on the whole unacceptable. A larger and larger proportion are being drawn from the bottom quarter of the graduating high school and college classes. The average salary after 12 years of teaching is only $17,000/yr. Most of them have little influence on such critical professional decisions as textbook selection, promotion, tenure, and retention policies. Half of the newly employed mathematics, science, and English teachers do not have the academic qualifications to teach these subjects, not to speak of discovering and challenging the gifted and talented among their students.

If access to quality education for everyone capable of benefiting is the name of the game from now on, for the children and youths to whose needs your Select Committee is attentive, you must take the trouble to discover what is wrong with teaching in this country.

3. *The textbook industry.*—Every child going through school spends about a dozen years with school books. Take a look at that industry. We have avoided like the plague a national curriculum imposed from Washington, but instead of federal control have, in essence, commercial control through the textbook industry. Again, with a few glorious exceptions, it is not too much to say that the larger majority of textbooks at the pre-college level is produced very much like entertainment on television: geared to high volume, standardized manufacture by profit centers in big conglomerates, employing in-house labor and catering to the lowest common denominator. No wonder that the most frequently encountered word characterizing schools today is "boredom."

If you care for the mind of the children and youth to which your committee is attentive, take a long, hard look at the textbook industry and, for that matter, the promises versus educational performance of the computer industry which may capture a lion's share of the schools' funds.

4. *Funding.*—This is in many ways the most complex puzzle. The public is enormously confused on what it takes to fund education, and who should do it. In a 1982 Gallup poll of "Public Attitudes toward the Public Schools," the overwhelming response was that education is "extremely important" to one's future success, and that public education should be the top priority for additional federal funds. Education occupied first place among 12 funding categories considered in the survey—way above healthcare, welfare, and military defense, with 55 percent selecting public education as one of their first three choices. Moreover, the public by a large margin wants far more attention to sound courses in mathematics, English, history, U.S. government, science, and foreign language than is now available in most schools. But as Propositions 13 and 3½ have shown, these ambitions do not translate into enthusiasm for local taxes. Evidently the public wants state and local officials to continue to have primary responsibility for governing the schools. When it comes to financing the public, by large margin believes, as does the unanimous Report of our Commission, that "The Federal government has the primary responsibility to identify the national interest in education. It should also help fund and support efforts to protect and promote that interest. It must provide the national leadership to ensure that the Nation's public and private resources are marshaled to address the issues."

As we have seen in the discussion in the Congress in the past few months, the public is indeed ready for national leadership on that score. One of your tasks will be to see how these sound impulses can be channeled to benefit the schooling of young people across the board—yes, in science, mathematics, and computer literacy, but yes also in English, social studies, foreign languages, and the arts. What is wanted is a learning society, not a quick fix to get more engineers to design space-war weapons.

5. *Jobs.*—An essential aspect of your Committee's work is to gain some clarity in the current debate what the future workplace is likely to be, for on it many of the details of the curriculum and of funding will depend. We know that the future worker is more likely to handle an information processer than a plow or a hammer. But will "hi tech" increase or decrease jobs? What will be the likely mix of technology-based and service-based employment?

Finally, I turn to what I believe to be your most difficulty task. The structural defects which I have enumerated above may not be the worst. Is there perhaps a deeper explanation why we are in this disarray, and particularly this proud and rich nation? Surely we do not lack cleverness for solving problems, or love for our children. But in one certain respect it is not too much to say that our young people are the most neglected fraction of the population, that they are—or at least were until the formation of your Select Committee—no better than orphans.

My point is that our country's basic laws are so structured that the attention Congress gives from time to time to the young and their needs flows from good impulses or sudden excitements but not from necessity of law. The young do not have the power either of the vote or of money and lobbies of their own. And if one wishes to interpret the Constitution and its Tenth Amendment narrowly, one can even speak of "phasing out" most federal responsibility for education, which is the central activity of childhood and youth.

In other advanced democracies where the young also have neither votes not lobbies, there is generally at least a national mandate for education in the law, and it is less necessary to wait until a crisis has built up because of years of none-too-benign neglect.

I end therefore with a suggestion that, I know, some of you will not be ready to consider until you have held the kind of hearing and made the kind of studies that I have outlined. The omission of a federal role for education was quite understandable 194 years ago. Education, on everyone's lips these days, and an utter necessity for our national survival, was barely mentioned in any of the American state papers. The Federalist authors hardly alluded to it in any of their 85 chapters. It was not seen as central to the life and destiny of our People. And perhaps we should be thankful that they did not burden us with an outdated national mandate in the Constitution.

But as this nation goes toward the 21st century, the time has come to think again, as we have done in the past some 2 dozen times—including giving the vote to 18-year olds—whether the development of history has uncovered another orphan group that needs such protection. The Preamble of the Constitution said that the Constitution's purpose is "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." We now know what could not have been guessed then—that in this modern, fast-changing world, all these hopes may be in danger if we do not have adequate education for the young; and that the dismal experience with out present "system" shows that State and local efforts are not enough and waiting for Sputniks is not enough.

I am fully aware that Alexander Hamilton, in the last of the Federalist Papers, warned against Amendments; that all such proposals have the danger of unintended consequences; and that the effort would be immense. Nevertheless, to focus your minds on the peculiarly orphaned status of the American child and youth when it comes to Constitutional responsibility, I hope you accept the challenge of thinking through, without resorting to the obvious bugaboos of state-directed thought control, central buracracies, and the like, how to bring the continuing needs of the young in education and the language of the Constitution together. What is needed in language to the effect that "the Federal government has the primary responsibility for identifying the national interest in education, and to help fund and support efforts to protect and promote that interest." It must provide the national leadership to insure that the nation's public and private resources are marshalled to offer each child an education directed to the full development of minds character and opportunity.

Nothing in this interferes with the perogative of parents to chose the kind of education there children shall be given. And nothing in this interferes with the most precious outcome of any education, which is the love of liberty. On the contrary, as John Stuart Mill wrote in his very last paragraph of the great essay On Liberty: "The worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a State which postpones the interest of their mental expansion and elevation . . . will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished; and the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed everything will

in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has prefered to banish."

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for having given me your attention.

Chairman MILLER. Dr. Holton, thank you very much for your testimony. You have recommended a very full agenda for the committee. As we proceed, you can be certain that we will consult with you with respect to the needs of our educational system.

Dr. Richman, if you would like to proceed.

STATEMENT OF HAROLD RICHMAN, DIRECTOR, SOCIAL POLICY RESEARCH CENTER, AND DIRECTOR, CHILDREN'S POLICY RESEARCH PROJECT, NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER; AND HERMON DUNLOP SMITH PROFESSOR, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mr. RICHMAN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is an honor and a privilege to appear before you at this inaugural hearing. It would perhaps be most appropriate to celebrate the strengths of America's families and children. Family strengths such as resourcefulness, resilience, and adaptability are certainly there to celebrate.

Chairman MILLER. Excuse me. If I could just interrrupt you for a minute. We have to vote now. It is my intention to stay here and continue the hearing. Members may want to vote and return quickly for a short round of questions.

The noise you hear coming from the corridor comes from the 100 young children who are about to join us before delivering 20,000 or 30,000 letters to the White House.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

I find the testimony really of great importance and high quality. And while I appreciate the need to move deliberately, I would ask that we at least suspend for 7 minutes so that those of us who are very fast can get over and back.

Chairman MILLER. Fine, if the members are willing. If you would do that, vote and come right back, that would be the best of all. I'm always worried that when members go vote, they somehow disappear. If we all can come right back, lets proceed that way.

[Recess.]

Chairman MILLER. Dr. Richman, we are going to test your ability to testify here in a rather difficult environment, since the room is now overflowing with children. Since you are going to be talking about possible trends with regard to families and young people, it is rather fitting that you testify at this point.

For those of you who might not know, these children are from the Save the Children Foundation. They will be going from here to the White House. We will introduce them a little bit later, but we would like to finish with the first panel. And, Dr. Richman, we look forward to your testimony.

Mr. RICHMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee.

Dr. Brazelton was not my pediatrician, but Professor Holton was my physics professor. [Laughter.]

It is an honor to appear before you at this inaugural hearing. It would perhaps be most appropriate on this occasion, particularly with this audience, to celebrate the strengths of America's families

and children. Family strengths such as resourcefulness, resilience, and adaptability are certainly there to celebrate.

But I suspect that to do right by your new constituency, the children, youth, and families of this country, you will soon become more occupied with their vulnerabilities than you will with their strengths.

It is my contention that your constituency is especially vulnerable today because it is undergoing profound changes, changes which are exceeding the ability of our basic institutions to respond. My statement, therefore, will be about these changes and the challenges they present for your response.

What are the important things to know about today's families? Perhaps the single most important fact about American families and children is that poverty is increasing, holding in its grip families who have been poor for some time and adding new families each year, many never having dreamt that this might be their lot; 9.7 percent of American families were in poverty at the height of the recession in 1975, and 11.2 percent are in poverty today. That represents 1,400,000 more families in poverty today than in 1975.

Children and minorities are especially hard hit. One child in five in this country is living below the poverty line. For black children the figure is almost one in two. For Hispanics it is a little over one in three. That adds up to over 12 million children, and that is too many, especially when research findings continue to document the wide variety of handicaps which growing up without adequate financial resources will place on their life chances.

Since economic status is perhaps the single most powerful predictor of a child's opportunity for success, for well being, and for self-sufficiency, we cannot ignore the ominous signs of increasing child and family poverty.

A second crucial fact and major change is that more families than ever before are now headed by women, women who have been separated, or divorced, or women who have never been married.

Again, let us look in particular at the children. One out of three white children and three out of four black children can expect to spend at least some of their childhood in a single parent family. Single parents are especially vulnerable to poverty. One-half of all children living with their mothers only are living in poverty, and this despite the astounding fact that almost 70 percent of single mothers are employed.

Single parenthood is now a fact of life for all classes and for all races. It is an important example for us of a social reality that has come upon us faster than we have been able to agree upon the appropriate social responses. The reality is there. We will have to respond.

A third major change in the committee's constituency is the substantial increase in the proportion of mothers who work, both in single-parent and two-parent families and for all ages of children. It is now the exception rather than the rule for a child in school to have his or her mother at home during the day, and even for preschoolchildren the proportion of working mothers is well over half.

Clearly, when a single parent or both parents in a two-parent family work outside of the home, at least some arrangements must be made for the care of their children. This is accomplished in

many cases through a patchwork of provisions of varying quality and dependability. Our social institutions are not set up for working parents. If what was the exception is now the rule, all of our schools, rich and poor, all of our workplaces and all of our neighborhoods will have to make significant adjustments.

The last set of facts I would cite relates to youth. These facts are perhaps the most troubling, and again they touch all of us. Consider the following: approximately 22 percent of white youth and 44 percent of black youth were unemployed last year. On any single day in my State of Illinois some 80,000 students are truant from school, and in my city of Chicago somewhere between 25 and 50 percent of the students who begin high school do not finish—a percentage which has been getting larger, not smaller, when more education, not less, is almost a necessity. About 50 percent of those minority students who drop out of high school before graduation do not even count themselves in the labor force.

We used to be able to say these young people are the parents of tomorrow, so we must do better by them today. Too often we must now say they are the parents of today.

Each year approximately one-half million teenage women in the United States give birth and take on the responsibilities of parenthood. This also represents one-half a million new fathers, more than half of whom do not or cannot provide a home and family for their children.

Talk with them, as my colleagues and I have done, and you will find them sometimes confused, sometimes discouraged, but they are hopeful for themselves and for their children. They want to be good parents, but they are fighting enormous odds—low and unstable incomes, poor education, and little experience. Their children are perhaps the most vulnerable of all.

These are some of the realities of life for children, youth, and families today. Children who are poor need food, and clothing, and shelter. Their needs and their hopes are those of your children and mine. Children in single-parent families with working mothers need adequate child care and supervision. Adolescents need the kind of education which prepares them for productive and meaningful participation in our society and in our economy. They need a fair shot at employment, but also opportunities for safe and constructive leisure and experiences which teach them to be responsible and caring adults, and parents, and citizens.

Conditions of inequality between whites and nonwhites, which make it twice as likely that a nonwhite infant will die within the first year of life, almost twice as likely that a nonwhite youth will drop out of school without receiving a high school diploma, and more than twice as likely that a nonwhite child will live in poverty, these conditions require special attention and bear tragic testimony to the continuing costs of persistent deprivation.

The successful functioning of all of our families and the successful development of all of our children today cannot depend only on parents who are responsive to their children. They depend as well on teachers who have the resources and the will to provide first-rate education. They depend on employers who are sensitive to the familial responsibilities of their employees, on religious organiza-

tions, on neighborhoods and communities, on clubs, on philanthropists, on professionals, and on friends.

Now perhaps they can also depend on the leadership of this committee. As we are now witnessing, when rapid changes occur in our local communities and when local and State governments fall short in their response because the problems are too big or the resources are too small, we look to a Federal perspective for direction and leadership and action.

It is the opportunity of this committee to respond, and I would urge you to do so in at least three ways. First, you can bring together for all of us to see and understand those organized efforts working on behalf of children, youth and their families. They range from tax deductions for dependent children to tax credits for child care to Federal grants for maternal and child health, job training for youth, privately sponsored family service agencies and others.

They are a lot, but somehow they have not proven equal to the challenge. If we could view them together on a large and detailed canvas, we could understand better the fit or lack of fit between what is provided and what is needed, where it is provided and where it is needed, and for whom it is provided and by whom it is needed. We could also better understand the balance or imbalance between public and private provisions for children, youth, and families.

So, first, you can tell us completely what we are doing now. That is essential to clear thinking and strategic planning for the future, and it has not been done.

Second, you can show us how well or how poorly we are doing what we are already committed to do. Important new legislation directed toward bringing more stability and permanence into the lives of America's foster children was passed several years ago. It marked an important step toward assuring those all-but-forgotten children a real place in a family that they might finally call their own.

What happened? Are our children actually better off today, or did we succeed in generating only more procedures and more reports? We do not know, but we should.

Aid for Families with Dependent Children is the agency of last resort for single mothers and their children. Does it, in concert with food stamps, medicaid, Head Start, school nutrition programs, private-sector job training and vocational education, make up a coherent system of supports for mothers, and fathers, and their children to make it as independent, productive families, or does it spell fragmentation, chaos, and bureaucracy which catch and hold young parents and their children in a web of poverty and hopelessness?

We all have our preconceptions, but surprisingly, we do not really know, and we should.

And what of our successes? What can we learn from the improvements in children's health, from the achievements of Head Start, from our advances in education for handicapped children and youth? There is a great deal you can show us about how well or how poorly we are doing and where we can do better.

And, finally, you can go beyond mapping our current efforts and assessing their effects. You can challenge governments, and communities, and families to do better. There is no scarcity of ideas to

try. Some are expensive, and some are not. Some are new, and some are controversial. But they should be heard and sifted, and their values and priorities debated as you provide a greatly needed forum for ideas, and criticism, and proposals for change. In this way you will give effective voice to the strengths and stresses of your new constituency.

Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Harold A. Richman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HAROLD A. RICHMAN, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DIRECTOR, CHILDREN'S POLICY RESEARCH PROJECT, NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER, AND HERMON DUNLAP SMITH PROFESSOR, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

It is an honor to appear before you at this inaugural hearing. I would perhaps be most appropriate on this occasion to celebrate the strengths of America's families and children; family strengths such as resourcefulness, resilience and adaptability are certainly there to celebrate. But I suspect that to do right by your new constituency, the children, youth, and families of this country, you will soon become more occupied with their vulnerabilities than you will with their strengths.

It is my contention that your constituency is especially vulnerable today because it is undergoing profound changes, changes which are exceeding the ability of our basic institutions to respond. My statement, therefore, will be about these changes and the challenges they present for your response.

Your constituency is growing, and I assume you consider that good sign. An earlier "baby boom" has now grown up and is beginning to produce its own "echo boom." The last 20 years have seen almost a doubling of women in their prime child-being years, a trend which will continue over the remainder of this decade. Even with a declining fertility rate we will see the formation of many new families, and the maturing of those begun in the last ten years. New and old, these families will be diverse in their style, their organization and their functioning.

What are the importing things to know about these families?

Perhaps the single most important fact about American families and children is that poverty is increasing, holding in its grip families who have been poor for some time, and adding new families each year, many never having dreamt that this might be their lot. 9.7 percent of American families were in poverty at the height of the recession in 1975, and 11.2 percent are in poverty today. That represents 1,400,000 more families in poverty today than in 1975. Children and minorities are especially hard hit. One child in five in this country is living below the poverty line; for black children the figure is almost one in two; for Hispanics it is a little over one in three. That adds up to over twelve million children, and that is too many especially when research findings continue to document the wide variety of handicaps which growing up without adequate financial resources will place on their life chances. Since economic status is perhaps the single most powerful predictor of a child's opportunity for success, for well-being and for self-sufficiency, we can not ignore the ominous signs of increasing child and family poverty.

A second crucial fact, and major change, is that more families than ever before are now headed by women, women who have been separated or divorced or women who have never been married. Again, let us look in particular at the children. One out of three white children and three out of four black children can expect to spend at least some of their childhood in a single parent family. Single parents are especially vulnerable to poverty. One-half of all children living with their mothers only are living in poverty. And this despite the astounding fact that almost 70 percent of single mothers are employed. Single parenthood is now a fact of life for all classes and for all races. It is an important example for us of a social reality that has come upon us faster than we have been able to agree upon the appropriate social responses. The reality is there. We will have to respond.

A third major change in the committee's constituency is the substantial increase in the proportion of mothers who work, both in single parent and two parent families, and for all ages of children. It is now the exception rather than the rule for a child in school to have his or her mother at home during the day. And even for preschool children, the proportion of working mothers is well over half. Clearly, when a single parent, or both parents in a two parent family work outside of that home, at the least some arrangements must be made for the care of their children. This is accomplished in many cases through a patchwork, of provisions of varied quality and dependability. Our social institutions are not set up for working par-

ents. If what was the exception is now the rule, all of our schools, rich and poor, all of our workplaces, and all of our neighborhoods will have to make significant adjustments.

The last set of facts I would cite relates to youth. These facts are perhaps the most troubling. And again, they touch all of us. Consider the following: Approximately 22 percent of white youth and 44 percent of black youth were unemployed last year. On any single day in my state of Illinois some 80,000 students are truant from school, and in my city of Chicago, somewhere between 25 and 50 percent of the students who begin high school do not finish, a percentage which has been getting larger, not smaller, when more education, not less, is almost a necessity. About 50 percent of those minority students who drop out of high school before graduation do not even count themselves in the labor force.

We used to be able to say these young people are the parents of tomorrow, so we must do better by them today. Too often we must now say, they are the parents of today. Each year approximately one-half million teenage women in the United States give birth and take on the responsibilities of parenthood. This also represents half a million new fathers, more than half of whom do not or can not provide a home and family for their children. Talk with them, as my colleagues and I have done, and you will find them sometimes confused and sometimes discouraged, but they are hopeful for themselves and for their children. They want to be good parents, but they are fighting enormous odds, low and unstable incomes, poor education, and little experience. Their children are perhaps the most vulnerable of all.

These are some of the realities of life for children, youth and families today. Children who are poor need food and clothing and shelter. Their needs and their hopes are those of your children and mine.

Children in single parent families and families with working mothers need adequate child care and supervision.

Adolescents need the kind of education which prepares them for productive and meaningful participation in our society and our economy. They need a fair shot at employment, but also opportunities for safe and constructive leisure, and experiences which teach them to be responsible and caring adults and parents and citizens.

Conditions of inequality between whites and non-whites—which make it twice as likely that a non-white infant will die within the first year of life; almost twice as likely that a non-white youth will drop out of school without receiving a high school diploma; and more than twice as likely that a non-white child will live in poverty—these conditions require special attention and bear tragic testimony to the continuing costs of persistent deprivation.

The successful functioning of all of our families and the successful development of all of our children today can not depend only on parents who are responsive to their children. They depend as well on teachers who have the resources and the will to provide first rate education. They depend on employers who are sensitive to the familial responsibilities of their employees, on religious organizations, on neighborhoods and communities, on clubs, on philanthropists, on professionals, and on friends.

Now perhaps they can also depend upon the leadership of this committee. As we are now witnessing, when rapid changes occur in our local communities and when local and state governments fall short in this response, because the problems are too big and their resources are too small, we look to a federal perspective for direction and leadership and action. It is the opportunity and perhaps the obligation of this committee to respond, and I would urge you to do so in at least three ways.

First, you can bring together for all of us to see and understand those organized efforts working on behalf of children, youth and families. They range from tax deductions for dependent children to tax credits for child care to federal grants for maternal and child health, family planning clinics, private sector job training for youth, privately sponsored family service and child welfare agencies and others. They are a lot. But somehow they have not proven equal to the challenge. If we can view them together on a large and detailed canvas, we could understand better the fit, or lack of fit, between what is provided and what is needed, where it is provided and where it is needed, and for whom it is provided and by whom it is needed. We could also understand better the balance, or imbalance, between public and private provisions for children, youth and families. So first you can tell us completely what we are doing now. That is essential to clear thinking and strategic planning for the future and it has not been done.

Second you can show us how well or poorly we are doing what we are already committed to do. Important new legislation directed toward bringing more stability and permanence into the lives of America's foster children was passed several years

ago. It marked an important step toward assuring these all but forgotten children a real place in a family they might finally call their own. What happened? Are our children actually better off today, or did we succeed in generating only more procedures and more reports? We don't know, but we should.

Aid for Families with Dependent Children is the agency of last resort for single mothers and their children. Does it, in concert with food stamps, Medicaid, headstart, school nutrition programs, private sector job training and vocational education make up a coherent system of supports for young mothers, and fathers, and their children to make it as independent, productive families, or does it spell fragmentation, chaos, and bureaucracy which catch and hold young parents and their children in a web of poverty and hopelessness? We all have our preconceptions, but surprisingly we don't really know, and we should. And what of our successes? What can we learn from the improvements in our children's health, from the achievements of headstart, from our advances in education for handicapped children and youth? There is a great deal you can show us about how well or how poorly we are doing and where we can do better.

And finally, you can go beyond mapping our current efforts and assessing their effects. You can challenge governments and communities and families to do better. There is no scarcity of ideas to try, some are expensive and some are not. Some are new, some are controversial. But they should be heard and sifted and their values and priorities debated as you provide a greatly needed forum for ideas and criticisms and proposals for change. In this way you will give effective voice to the strengths and stresses of your new constituency.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much.

I want to thank all members of the panel. It was the intent of myself and Congressman Marriott to use today's various panels to give the members of this committee a taste, if you will, of some of the problems that confront us because of the changing character of the family and the workplace. We also are happy to have heard about the many opportunities that exist for our society. As it was pointed out by Dr. Brazelton, we have the knowledge now to better than ever launch a healthy life, a healthy child.

And as Dr. Holton has pointed out, there is a phenomenal opportunity with respect to the adult life if a person's early educational experience is positive. This panel of witnesses has succeeded in expanding our horizons, encouraging the members, all of whom volunteered to serve on this committee, to proceed quickly to the work ahead.

Again, recognizing our time situation, I will ask people to be restrained in their questions, but I do want to give an opportunity to those members who have not yet had an opportunity. Congresswoman Boxer?

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much.

I have a question, Dr. Brazelton, for you, as a parent who had two preemie babies. In those days never got to even hold them for 1 month, I am glad to see that that is no longer the practice. But I am really taken with your idea that when we have mothers and fathers who have just had their children, that is the moment in time—from the very start—to reach them.

Do the hospitals, in your opinion, today have the resources to do some kind of limited program like the model you described?

Dr. BRAZELTON. Yes; this is not a matter of time spent. It is a matter of attitude. We are all beautifully trained in medicine for the negative model, for a pathological model of failure of illness. We have not even started looking at what we can do if we change that model to try and reach out to people and get where they are at that time. But once you start, you can see in their faces that it

means something entirely different to them, if you adopt an attitude of trying to reach and respect them.

Now we get mothers and fathers in to get to understand their preemies before they take them home. They told me at Boston Hospital for Women, which is one of the busiest and most overwhelmed nurseries I have ever seen. They have preemies that do not even weigh 1 pound that they are saving now.

But they have been getting mothers and fathers in. They expect mothers and fathers to take a month or two to get used to these preemies. It is not a simple job. But they told me the other day that they compared their preemies to preemies of another institution, and their babies had 2 months advanced IQ's over the others at the age of 9 months. I cannot even believe it, but still the nurses feel this is what their commitment to parents can mean. If you ask them why do they think that, they say because we captured the parents for that baby.

Well, I think we captured the parents for themselves, too, and that is probably where the action really is in trying to get some of these parents reorganized as families.

Mrs. BOXER. And you think that could be done right now without any expenditure of Federal dollars? You think we could do it now?

Dr. BRAZELTON. I think we are spending a lot of money on all of our present programs, but without self-competence as our goal. The present goal is to deliver services or hand them out on a silver platter and expect people to reach for them. The trouble is it is only the highly motivated or the middle-class that can reach for them. It is not people who need for you to reach them first and let them see that they are important. And when you do that, then they can reach for these services that we have available already.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you.

I have two questions, and I will be very quick and I hope we can submit additional ones for the record.

Chairman MILLER. It is quite likely that these panelists will be back before this committee as we break down this subject matter into more detail.

Mr. WOLF. Dr. Brazelton, would you comment on the self-esteem or the lack of self-esteem of a new mother and how that impacts on the new child?

Dr. BRAZELTON. We have some research I would love to show you sometime. Mr. Miller, I think, has seen some of it—in which we see how a mother passes on her values about herself as well as about society to the child. In the first 4 months there are four stages of development of maternal feeling and of the baby's feeling about himself, of competence, in other words, that need to have time to develop. If the mother feels good about herself and is reinforced to feel good about herself, she in turn passes those feelings very directly on to the new baby; you can see the baby begin to take fire.

If she does not, on the other hand—and this is what used to happen with mothers of prematures—if she feels inadequate and gets a baby that is not giving her proper feedback, not all that beautiful stuff I was describing, then, of course, those compound themselves for failure—not maybe but of course.

And it may be a matter of degree depending upon what class and what your resources are, but it is an expectancy. So if we want to capture these resources, in people and for people they are there to be captured. I would love to show you this research sometime, if Mr. Miller will ask me back.

Mr. WOLF. I would like to see it, and I invite you to come by my office the next time you are in town.

But a second question for Dr. Holton. Two comments on education, and you have raised several questions. I have five children in public schools and I understand what you are saying about the quality of textbooks.

First, would you comment on merit pay for teachers and whether or not it is a good idea? I know this is resisted by some teacher groups.

Second, would you comment on the need to modify or change the tenure system that we currently have?

Mr. HOLTON. In schools?

Mr. WOLF. Yes; with regard to teachers.

Mr. HOLTON. They are related, I think.

The main question really is what kind of vocation or profession the teachers have. Where there is no merit pay, it is likely the byproduct of a lockstep kind of a situation in which merit is not the ruling consideration for a advancement, where it becomes at best the teachers' own personal sense of vocation that pushes them forward. And thank God we have just such teachers, and we have seen them even in the worst slum situations in our travels through the country as part of this Commission report. We are not without them.

But a profession does not function properly unless merit does get recognized. Pay is only one part of such recognition. Control over your own day is another. Control over your textbooks is another. The question of whether you want to deal with your classes in large groups or, for some teaching, student by student: This is the kind of thing that characterizes the life of a professional, as Dr. Brazelton could describe his life and as I can describe mine.

This is what is now lacking for most teachers. Merit pay in my view is just a byproduct of the upgrading of the profession as a whole. Tenure is another byproduct. I believe that a true profession of teachers, modeled on the college and university, for example, would allow tenure for those who have gone through this hard road of 8 years of trial, which is usually what happens to a college teacher before he or she gets tenure.

Mr. WOLF. Are you saying then that you would favor merit pay as a part of upgrading the profession? Could you clarify what you mean with regard to tenure?

Mr. HOLTON. What I am saying is tenure by itself should not merely be by seniority. Tenure as I understand it, and the way it is administered in most colleges and universities, is something you earn after a long period of examination of your performance in the classroom and in research. After 8 years of that scrutiny, some may be able to get tenure, and many do not. It is again a matter of merit. Tenure is earned, and not gotten automatically.

Mr. WOLF. How is tenure treated in the average high schools in this country? Is there a training period.

Mr. HOLTON. I think that it is usually a matter of budget. That is to say, as long as there is budget to pay for those that have been in the system longest, they are going to be kept on the staff of the school. They have sort of a de facto tenure.

Mr. WOLF. I thank the chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Rowland.

Mr. ROWLAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I compliment all of the testimony that was given here this morning. In particular Dr. Brazelton who paints such excellent word pictures. I was looking around the room when you were talking, and I could see that you had actually placed a newborn in the arms of many of these women around here. There were a lot of smiles on their faces.

I think you are more of an environmentalist than you are a hereditarian, listening to what you have said there, and I am really delighted to see that you were talking about the art of the practice of medicine now rather than so many technicians that we have produced over the years.

I do have one question that I wish to ask, and there are many areas that affect the children in our society and the people in our society; but I want to ask you a question with reference to the medical care which you mentioned.

As you said or indicated second-class medical care tends to propagate or keep going what we have had over the years. Medicaid has been in existence now for some 15 years, and it has been my experience that people who receive medicaid get excellent care because they are so concerned about the cost of the care.

I would like you to relate that to the statement that you made earlier.

Dr. BRAZELTON. I agree with you. I think the health of the poorer group of people who need medicaid has improved considerably since medicaid came into effect, the opportunity for receiving care at a time when they need it is unquestionably a boost to their morale.

I guess it is a good instance, though, of a resource that we are not using as well as we might. Medicare, if it were given to people in a way that made them feel important, and that is why they were getting medicare, not because they are poor and poverty-stricken could give them a feeling of control over their destiny. Then we could turn medicare into a cost effective way of delivering medicine because we could turn it into a preventive scheme rather than a therapeutic one.

At this point therapeutic medicine costs at least four times as much as a preventive system would if it was as equivalently effective. I know this in pediatrics—I do not know it in adult medicine—but it is time for us to think about how could we do the same thing we have done for people with medicaid in a preventive way, because we are not.

Mr. ROWLAND. Money is certainly not the answer to all of the problems we have.

One other question, Mr. Chairman, if I may, quickly.

You mentioned that there was an anatomical difference in the makeup of people who had been deprived as compared to others, did you not?

Dr. BRAZELTON. They may well be affected at birth—not necessarily in permanent ways but in temporary ones, at least. This comes from animal literature. It certainly seems to be being borne out in more complex behavior and complex reactions in infants, in human infants as well as in animals. The guess that it is 60 percent of DNA—that is, cellular replication—comes from Myron Winick at Columbia and from various people who have looked at animal models.

Whether it is as much of a deficit in humans or not we are not yet sure. We did do some work in Guatemala with an undernourished group of people in which we offered them supplementary nutrition in pregnancy, but because they had been chronically undernourished, these pregnant women had anorexia—which means a lack of caring about food. They did not take the nutrients offered during pregnancy and remained undernourished. At birth their babies predicted, with a 90-percent prediction, to 1½ years later developing kwashiorkor or marasmus, and they also had educational deficits, at the age of 7 years.

These babies at birth showed a deficit in their behavior because of the intrauterine condition of undernutrition. You could go down here to D.C. General and do exactly the same study. It is right there to be done. These are unresponsive newborns who do not elicit maternal nurturing at birth in mothers who are already depleted themselves. Even if their mothers might have generated the energy to want to be elicited, but the babies do not do it.

And so she is likely to feed them three or four times a day at a time when a normal newborn needs eight feedings a day, she adds postnatal nutrition to prenatal nutrition, so of course—not maybe—but of course those kids are likely to fail later. The failures are likely to be learning disabilities, lack of motivation, activation—these sorts of things which Dr. Holton was talking about which are critical to their future adaptation to our complex environment.

Mr. ROWLAND. Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Congresswoman Johnson.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And I do want to thank the panel for the very fine quality of their testimony before us today, and I am very glad, Mr. Chairman, that we will have access to them in the future.

I thought, Dr. Holton, that the phrase in your testimony that we need to find a deeper explanation as to why we are in disarray is one that I very much share. And while I appreciate the facts that you have laid before us, I believe that we have a long road ahead of us to find an explanation that really addresses the profound disarray not only in education, but in our relationships within our families and communities. And I thought, Dr. Brazelton, that your comments were particularly useful to me in that regard.

Your ability to help us to see what makes quality is so important. Having long been involved in Government oversight and knowing what it is for a legislator involved in 45 different arenas to try to determine—in fact evaluate programs on this level is extremely difficult. And I would ask your help, since all of you talk about the Federal role in evaluating the quality and impact of pro-

grams. How do we make that one program work so that it changes people's lives, and what principles should we be seeking?

And clearly, Dr. Brazelton, the principle that you cite in your work of eliciting relationships is why a program like Head Start has worked. Parents are involved. Their relationship to their children and to learning has changed through the quality of that involvement, and it works.

I do not know how many of you have in your States parent aid programs, but they work for very much the same reason that your approach to newborns works. And we need help in finding out where they work and how we can accomplish that work.

But there are two things that concern me very much.

Chairman MILLER. Very quickly, if you will.

Mrs. JOHNSON. One is why is it in our society—and is there a relationship and the profoundness of our disarray—why is it that we do not value quality? Why is it that we are not able to teach or to share or to elicit excellence? And I leave it at that since the time is short.

The other thing I would ask you to come back to at some future date is what is the real impact of divorce? This is not a value issue, but the fact is single-headed families, poverty, low income employment for women, and divorce are all very intimately related. And I would ask you what research is being done on the human aspect of divorce, and how are we going to manage poverty, low income debt and jobs for women? What are we saying to all our children? What are we saying to our children in our inability to deal with this very human problem which is just as important as that initial bonding of parent and child? And we have not addressed that today, and I really urge you to help us do so.

Mr. HOLTON. If I could give a 1-minute response because I know you have to move on, and say something which I believe all of us at this table would share, it is this: The questions that you asked are questions for research. You are asking for research in the field of the social sciences.

I am frightened as I look at these wonderful children before us today that they are being launched into a world on which we are doing less and less on social science research of just the kind that you are asking, and which Dr. Brazelton so eloquently described, too. I think that is one thing that we probably can all agree on.

Chairman MILLER. Finally, Congressman Levin for a very short question.

Mr. LEVIN. I have just a couple of short ones.

Chairman MILLER. You get one of them. [Laughter.]

Mr. LEVIN. I am not sure which one to ask. Let me then ask Dr. Brazelton, because I think it follows up. I was going to ask Dr. Holton if the same was true in Western Europe as in the United States, that the history and educations are marching in different directions, but maybe you can tell me that afterwards.

But let me ask Dr. Brazelton, from your experience of following up the comment of Dr. Holton's about social science research and the underfunding of it, give us, if you will, briefly, practically why is it so difficult, in your judgment for us to put resources into and give attention to prevention? What is it that makes it so different?

Dr. BRAZELTON. I really just do not think we have thought about it. I think we come at it—I can only speak from medicine—but we were trained beautifully in the pathological model, in the therapeutic model, but not in a preventive model. It is just coming on the horizon in medicine now, and I suspect that is true in other fields. Dr. Holton could answer in the educational field.

What has made it possible for it to come on the horizon is that we have virtually conquered therapeutic medicine. We have the luxury of looking beyond that to the quality of life; and we also are being forced by our distintegrating society to look for this quality of life. I think these two forces are making it absolutely necessary and mandating that we begin to look for preventive ways of offering people help.

The other side is that we cannot afford therapeutic medicine any longer. I do not know about therapeutic education, but I think we are spending more money than we need to at a therapeutic level. We must address these issues earlier looking for people's strengths and the forces that are there to be captured. And we have got it. We have got it in research with divorced kids, divorced parents. We know what we can do to back them up. We just have not done it.

Mr. LEVIN. Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. We are going to stop the questioning here, and resume where we left off. The people who have not had a chance to question will be the first to question the children's panel.

These panelists, and I assume the panelists from this afternoon, most likely will be back before our task forces, as we break these areas down into more specific topics. I think Ms. Johnson and others have raised the kinds of questions that will be in the task forces.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Chairman, I just want to say I am sorry I was not here for the panel this morning. The children's committee had its first victory this morning. I just want to announce that we got through the armed services personnel committee this morning a provision that will treat military children the same as Foreign Service children abroad. From now on students will have a trip to visit their families abroad per year. I think that is a phenomenal victory for the committee. However I am sorry I could not be here.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Pat Schroeder is the chairman of the Task Force on Economic Strategies.

I would like to thank the panel for its time, and for coming down here on short notice. I assure you, as you have probably already guessed, that you are going to be called upon again by this committee to that we may avail ourselves of your expertise.

Thank you so very much.

All right, kids. Now you have seen how Congress works. What do you think about this committee system? It is pretty warm. That is one thing, right? [Laughter.]

We will now hear from a panel made up of children who have been brought to Washington by Save the Children, and they will be introduced by Marjorie Benton from Save the Children.

Last year Save the Children came to Washington—to mark their 50th anniversary—and the honorary host and hostess were the President and the First Lady.

72-7

The children will be delivering later in the day to the White House—20,000 letters, to which have been written by children from all over the country. Today they are going to give us a synopsis of some of the concerns that were expressed in those letters.

Marjorie, would you like to go ahead and introduce the panel?

STATEMENT OF MARJORIE BENTON, CHAIRWOMAN, SAVE THE CHILDREN

Mrs. BENTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Before I introduce the children, I want to say a few things to this new committee.

First of all, thank you for allowing us to appear today in front of this first official hearing of this new Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families. We at Save the Children applaud the formation of this select committee. We feel that children's voices are not heard often enough in the halls of power. Because kids do not vote or pay taxes or protest, they have not been considered an important constituency. They make up 40 percent of the population and 100 percent of our future.

Children today are buffeted by so many more forces than you and I were when we were kids: Epidemic divorce rates, rampant child abuse, escalating arms race. The concerns that the children bring this committee today—concerns about unemployment, high prices, taxes, crime, pollution— may seem like adult problems, but they touch the lives of children and in a very real way.

One of my favorite quotes is one by Abraham Lincoln, he said:

> A child is a person who is going to carry on what you have started. He is going to sit where you are sitting, and when you are gone attend to those things that you think are important. The fate of humanity is in his hands.

Mr. Chairman, if we really believe that, then why don't we make children our highest priority? Why don't we give children the time and the resources, the care and love they deserve?

We at Save the Children believe that the voices of children have been silent too long. We believe they can and should speak for themselves. They have a lot to teach us.

And, in closing, I would just like to thank you, Congressman Miller and Congressman Marriott, again for allowing the children to come here today and testify. And I would like to introduce our first witness, who is Heidi Bowman. Heidi is 12 years old, and she comes from Wilmington, Del.

[Prepared statement of Marjorie Benton follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARJORIE BENTON, SAVE THE CHILDREN

I am Marjorie Craig Benton—Chair of Save the Children Federation. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing us to testify before this first official hearing of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

We at Save the Children applaud the formation of this select committee. Children's voices are not often heard here in the halls of power. Because they do not vote, or pay taxes, or protest, children have not been considered an important constituency. Yet, they make up 40 percent of our population today and 100 percent of our future tomorrow.

Children today are buffeted by so many more forces than you and I were when we were kids—epidemic divorce rates, rampant child abuse, an escalated arms race. The concerns the children bring this committee today—unemployment, high prices, taxes, crime, polution—may seem like adult problems, but they touch the lives of children in a very real way.

Abraham Lincoln said, "a child is a person who is going to carry on what you have started. He is going to sit where you are sitting, and when you are gone, attend to those things which you think are important . . . the fate of humanity is in his hands."

Mr. Chairman, if we really believe that, then why don't we give children the time, the resources, the care and love they need? Why don't we make them our highest priority? We at Save the Children Federation believe that the voices of children have been silent too long. We believe they can and should speak for themselves. And they have a lot to teach us.

CHILDREN'S AGENDA FOR ACTION—1983

Letters were received by Save the Children from approximately 20,000 school children all across the country. A tally was made of the issues they discussed and here are the five leading topics of greatest concern to children in America today.

WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ECONOMY

This was the topic mentioned most frequently. Unemployment may seem like a problem only to adults but it affects children, too. Many of our mothers and fathers are out of work. For those of us who live with only one parent, this is a special problem. Also, in many families, mothers have had to go to work for the first time to support everyone and that leaves many children alone and unhappy.

Many of us think it would be helpful if more people bought American products. Then there would be more jobs for our parents.

We are concerned about high prices, too. This really hurts because it makes it hard for some of our parents to buy enough food or clothes.

WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT VIOLENCE

We hear on the news about all kinds of crimes. There is stealing and mugging and murder. Sometimes it touches our own families. The father of one of the girls who wrote a letter had been shot and killed in a robbery a few months ago. She is only eight and needs a father.

We are afraid of kidnapping—either by criminals or by a parent who tries to take a child away from the other parent.

We are also deeply concerned about child abuse. A number of children wrote that they had friends or neighbors who have been abused. And a few said they had been victims themselves. There should be more hot lines or counseling programs for parents. All of us feel that no child should ever be hurt.

WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT

We want there to be clean air to breathe when we grow up and clear water to drink. We want there to be all the wild animals and birds and fish so we can show them to our children. We are worried about the factories and chemicals that pollute the air and rivers and lakes. And about hunters and commercial fishermen who are killing nice animals, like moose or dolphins, and endangering many species. We want good laws so there will be a clean, safe world for us and for our children.

WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT ALL THE POOR AND DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES AND AROUND THE WORLD

We know there are children in the United States who are hungry or whose parents cannot take care of them adequately or whose schools are not giving them the same kind of educational opportunities that others have.

In other countries, particularly in the developing world, there are children who suffer because they live in real poverty. They face hunger and starvation, or terrible health problems every day. Some of them never go to school at all so they grow up without knowing how to read or write.

We think everyone in the world could work together to help solve some of these problems. We'd like to help but we need your help too.

WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT WAR AND NUCLEAR ARMS

We want the world to continue—to continue to be a nice place to live. We don't want anyone to blow up the world and kill everyone. We don't understand why all

countries can't sit down and talk and agree to be friends. The money spent on arms could then be spent on school programs or medical research.

If children are the next generation and the hope for this country's future—we want a future!

SAVE THE CHILDREN

Save the Children is a voluntary, non-profit, nonsectarian organization that has been working with impoverished children and their families for over 50 years. Founded during the Depression to aid the poor but fiercely proud people of Appalachia, Save the Children has grown into a worldwide organization that works in 33 countries abroad and in five major regions of the United States.

Their mission is to improve the quality of life for children through innovative, community-based self-help programs. They are constantly on the lookout for new ways that the voices of children can be heard.

Save the Children Week—April 25–May 1—is one such way. It provides an opportunity for Americans to call special attention to the needs and rights of children everywhere. Almost every state governor has issued a proclamation declaring Save the Children Week. Over the past five years, it has been observed not only here in the United States, but in Greece, Honduras, Australia, Bangladesh and other countries around the world.

In the United States, an annual "children's letters to the President" campaign has been the central focus for Save the Children Week. The children's concerns are tallied and summarized into their own Agenda for Action. This document, along with thousands of letters, has been presented each year at a special children's hearing before the United States Senate Subcommittee.

This year, over 70 children representing nearly 20 states have been hard at work, discussing this year's theme for the letters—"Dear Mr. President, this is the biggest problem facing children today and here's what we can do about it . . ." They have held their own minicongresses, forming committees, debating issues, resolving problems, formulating solutions. Their are coming to Washington from all over the country to present their ideas, their concerns and to be the first witnesses at the first official hearing of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. They want to tell us not only what thousands of children across the country consider the biggest problems facing them today but they want to share with us their own personal views.

The major concerns identified in the children's letters sound like a laundry list of current adult problems: the economy, crime, child abuse, the nuclear arms race, the environment, the poor and disadvantaged of the world. Obviously these problems not only touch but deeply affect the lives of children too.

After they testify before the Committee, they are boarding school buses for the White House where they will present the thousands of letters to a representative of the President.

STATEMENT OF HEIDI BOWMAN, WILMINGTON, DEL.

Miss Bowman. My name is Heidi Bowman, and I am 12 years old, and I live in Wilmington, Del. And I have a speech to read you which is called "The Children's Agenda for Action 1983."

Letters were received by Save the Children from approximately 20,000 elementary schoolchildren all across the country, from every socioeconomic and ethnic sector. A tally was made of the issues they discussed, and here are the five leading topics of the greatest concern to children in America today.

We are concerned about the economy. This was the topic mentioned most frequently. Unemployment may seem like a problem only to adults, but it affects children, too. Many of our mothers and fathers are out of work. For those of us who live with only one parent, this is a special problem. Also, in many families mothers have had to work for the first time to support everyone, and that leaves many children alone and unhappy.

Many of us think it would be more helpful if more people bought American products. Then there would be more jobs for our parents.

We are concerned about high prices, too. This really hurts us, because it makes it hard for some of our parents to buy enough food or clothes.

We are concerned about violence. We hear on the news about all kinds of crimes. They are stealing, and mugging and murder. Sometimes it touches our own families. The father of one of the girls who wrote a letter had been shot and killed in a robbery a few months ago. She is only 8 and needs a father. They are afraid of kidnaping, either by criminals or by a parent who tries to take a child away from another parent.

We are also deeply concerned about child abuse. A number of children had wrote that said they had friends or neighbors who had been abused, and a few said they had been victims themselves. There should be more hotlines or counseling programs for parents. All of us feel that no child should ever be hurt.

We are concerned about the environment. We want there to be clean air to breathe when we grow up and clean water to drink. We want there to be all the wild animals and birds and fish so we can show them to our children. We are worried about the factories and chemicals that pollute the air, rivers, and lakes, and about hunters and commercial fishermen who are killing nice animals like moose and dolphins, and endangering many species. We want good laws so that there will be a clean, safe world for us and our children.

We are concerned about all of the poor and disadvantaged children in the United States and around the world. We know that there are children in the United States who are hungry, or whose parents cannot take care of them adequately, or whose schools are not giving them the same kind of educational opportunities that have. In other countries, particularly in the developing world, there are children who suffer because they live in real poverty. They face hunger and starvation or terrible health problems every day. Some of them never go to school at all, so they grow up without knowing how to read or write.

We think everyone in the world should work together to solve some of these problems. We would like to help, but we need your help, too.

We are concerned about war and nuclear arms. We want the world to continue, to continue to be a nice place to live. We do not want anybody to blow up the world and kill everyone. We do not understand why all countries cannot sit down, and talk, and agree to be friends. The money spent on arms could then be spent on school programs or medical research. If children are the next generation and the hope for this country's future, we want a future.

And now, Mr. Chairman, some of the children who have come to attend this hearing will give you their own personal statements about these issues.

STATEMENT OF TIFFINI JONES, KONA, KY.

Miss JONES. Hello. My name is Tiffini Jones, and I am 11, and I come from Kona, Ky.; and today I am going to be talking about unemployment. And even though my father is employed, I am very concerned about this.

Unemployment is indeed one of the most serious problems people face today. The unemployment lines are growing rapidly, and the worst part is that there are no jobs to be found. America has been always known as the land of opportunity, but unemployment has taken much of this opportunity out of America.

I live in the rural community of Kona, Ky., and in Letcher County in the southeastern portion of Kentucky our largest industry is coal mining, and with about 60 percent of our population depending upon the mines. In fact, everything in our county depends on mines except for Government-funded programs and the educational system.

Since December 1982 our unemployment rate has grown from 39 percent to its present 51 percent. Every day there is news of mine layoffs, or worse still, a mine closing. Presently in my school, 325 students, 61 percent of the student body is either on free or reduced lunch programs.

This is having serious effects on family life today. Here are some of the very serious ones. Rent and house payments cannot be met. There is not enough money to meet even the basic necessities. Insurances are having to be dropped, and there is no money for little luxuries like eating out or going to the movies. Home repairs and improvements cannot be made. New clothing required to stay in style cannot be bought.

This stressful condition causes families to quarrel and fight frequently. The crime rate is up. There is a sharp increase in the number of cases of reported theft.

My class conducted a children's congress, and we discussed this problem. We came up with these recommended solutions.

The Government should start immediately a program which pays workers on a national basis to repair pipes, bridges, roads, schools, and public buildings. Stores should reduce their items to 50 percent for unemployed consumers. The Government or industry should conduct workshops which teach new skills in today's job fields, and more educational scholarships should be awarded. Companies should split shifts as to put more workers into the schedule.

Yes, America and my community have been hit hard by the depression, but surely if we can come out of this, out of this great depression—could have come out of the Great Depression of the 1930's, we can overcome this.

The children of today must have a future and something to prepare us for. If not, why put us through the long and sometimes torturing process known as education. Let us put jobs back into our future.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Would you pass the mike down to our next witness?

STATEMENT OF CARLA McCOY, ALIQUIPPA, PA.

Miss MCCOY. Hi. My name is Carla McCoy. I am 8 years old, from Aliquippa, Pa.

Mr. Congressman and delegates, inflation is one of the biggest problems facing children today. Prices are always changing on foods and goods and are getting higher and higher. The prices on utility bills keep going up. America has many senior citizens and

retired people. Because of huge unemployment and plants closing down, things are critical.

Many people are on welfare or with low incomes. These people are really hurt by inflation. Even people who have jobs are having a hard time making ends meet. Here is what can be done about inflation.

There must be an immediate freeze on prices. Laws must be made to keep businesses and companies from raising their prices whenever they feel like it. Inflation must be stopped. The Government can do this.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. That is a modest agenda for the members of this panel. [Laughter.]

We will see if we can get that enacted by nightfall.

Thank you very much. [Laughter.]

STATEMENT OF MAURA CONNIFF, SOUTH PLAINFIELD, N.J.

Miss CONNIFF. My name is Maura Conniff. I am 12 years old. I am from South Plainfield, N.J.

Dear Congressmen, ladies, and gentlemen: I have been asked to talk to you about our fear of crime and violence. Is our world full of violence and crime? That is all we see on TV or in the newspapers. Our streets are not safe. The threat of mugging, kidnapping, or rape is constantly there. We cannot walk the streets alone any more. When we are walking to school we have to walk with someone or in a group. Schools are not even safe. Drug pushers wait on or near the school property and try to sell us into addiction. If we say no, they will come back again and try to persuade us.

It seems that there is no place safe any more, even the home where most murders and robberies are committed. We are afraid to be alone at home because of this constant fear. Some children are even afraid of their parents. The divorced parent might kidnap their child or a sick parent might abuse them. If streets, schools, and homes are unsafe, where can we go? Does our world have to be like this? Can you not please change it?

STATEMENT OF ROBBY DINTAMAN, MANSFIELD, OHIO

Mr. DINTAMAN. My name is Robby Dintaman. I am 10 years old. I live in Mansfield, Ohio.

Dear President Reagan: I think child abuse is the biggest problem facing children today. These were the number of cases reported in Richland County in 1982: 115 cases of regular abuse, 6 cases of sexual abuse, and 226 cases of negligence; 50 percent of the regular cases, 60 percent of the sexual abuse, and 90 percent of the negligence cases were proven.

The solutions of the county is: (1) counseling classes for parents; (2) removal of children to foster homes; (3) adoption is used as a last resort.

About 10 percent of Richland County families are involved. Here is what I think we can do about it.

One, have the parents go to a school that teaches them to try not to abuse their children.

Two, take the child away from the parents until they learn not to abuse their children.

Three, to make better laws to protect children.

Four, pass out information to people so they can recognize child abuse.

Five, neighborhood watch programs.

Six, have places or special help in schools for children.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

I hope the members of the committee are taking notes, given what we have been charged by these children. [Laughter.]

STATEMENT OF DANIEL BULLEN, MAHOPAC, N.Y.

Mr. BULLEN. Hi. My name is Daniel Bullen. I am 10 years old. I am from Mahopac, N.Y.

Dear Members of Congress: I think air pollution is a problem because all people have a right to clean air which they are not getting. Air pollution can make people sick. It can also temporarily block sunlight, killing the plants and leaves on trees.

I would also like something to be done about water pollution. I feel this way because all life is dependent on water. If all of our water should become polluted, some of these things could happen.

No. 1, fish could die off, causing famine. Infected fish could harm many people, if eaten.

No. 2, there would be no clean water to drink. Desperate people would drink polluted water and get sicker.

No. 3, there would be no clean water to bathe in, so germs could make people sick. This may eventually contribute to the human race slowly dying off.

Please do something about this by:

No. 1, acknowledging antipollution rules; and

No. 2, passing laws against pollution with stiff penalties and enforcing them.

Thank you for your attention.

Chairman MILLER. Daniel, thank you for your testimony. Your Member of Congress is on this panel. Congressman Fish is from your area of New York.

Mr. FISH. I heard you. [Laughter.]

Chairman MILLER. Dan, we expect you to become the head of his advisory committee on children, youth, and families.

Next.

STATEMENT OF COLLETTE LOCKWOOD, SCHURZ, NEV.

Miss LOCKWOOD: Hi, I am going to be talking about the environment.

My name is Collette Lockwood. I am 12 years old. I was born and raised in Schurz, Nev., and I am a member of the Paiute Tribe.

The most serious problem on our reservation is pollution. Upstream users like farmers use pesticides, and the alkalai from their fills drains back into our river. There used to be a large copper mine upstream, and since it is no longer in use, waste may be seeping into the river and drinking water. Plans are being proposed to bring the old mining to a waste dump. This could add pollution to

the water. Since we are the last users on the river, we need the government's to test wells on the river for pollution. This might be harming me, my people, and the livestock.

Also, our reservation is located near a naval bombing range. The jets fly low over our homes. With all of the land around, why do they have to go over the reservation? The sonic booms have an effect on the people and the livestock.

Thank you.

STATEMENT OF NIRMALAN NAGULENDRAN, CUMBERLAND, MD.

Mr. NAGULENDRAN. I am Nirmalan Nagulendran. I am 11 years old, and I am from Cumberland, Md.

Ladies and gentlemen, Members of Congress, we are gathered here to talk about the biggest problems facing children today in this country and overseas.

Even though America is one of the world's richest countries, it still has its share of poor people. These people are concentrated in certain areas of the country such as the inner cities, Appalachia, and American Indian Reservations.

Inner cities have problems such as drug addiction and unemployment. When parents are unemployed, they will not have enough money to raise their children properly. In Appalachia, the major problem seems to be a lack of shelter. Here, many people live in abandoned buildings and one-room homes.

On the Pima Indian Reservations of Arizona, lack of water is the main problem. One can imagine the amount of difficulties these children undergo every day.

Poverty in Third World countries is far different from poverty in the United States. In developing countries, society as a whole is poor, and here children suffer from problems such as malnutrition, inadequate health care, and a lack of education.

I come from Sri Lanka, an island nation off the coast of India, and I was there recently to visit my relatives. Here I saw many shanties that were made of cardboard and had thatched roofs. Many children were sleeping on the streets without adequate clothing. But Sri Lanka is getting better because of Save the Children.

Thank you for listening to my presentation.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF GINA MORFINO, NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF., AND BONN, WEST GERMANY

Miss MORFINO. My name is Gina Morfino. I am 9 years old, and I go to the Bonn American School in Bonn, Germany. I have been asked to speak about Third World countries.

Since I lived in India for 3 years, I would like to mainly talk about it. But before I do, I would like to mention the contents of some of my classmates' letters. Honduras has a food shortage. Often there is rice that cannot be delivered because of a lack of truck parts and tires. Peru badly needs farm advisers to teach farmers how to better produce their own products. And Somalia's children lack school materials such as paper and pencils. Many families in Ethiopia flood their homes because of droughts. They live in straw huts and need blankets. Since English is taught in

many Third World countries, discarded government schoolbooks should be sent to schools who want them there.

The children in India that I remember were poor and did not look healthy. Most did not have any school at all, and when they did, they were only for a couple of years. The mother of a classmate of mine from India wrote down some real needs of people in New Delhi. Some of them are: money for basic school materials, as well as schools and day care centers, medicine, used toys, and clothing.

Thank you.

STATEMENT OF ALISON BATTISTELLA, MOUNT UNION, PA.

Miss BATTISTELLA. My name is Alison Battistella. I am 11 years old, and I am representing Mount Union, Pa.

War frightens children because they feel helpless to do anything about it. It interrupts our lives and our educations. War can also take the lives of children. This is the worst of all. These children that are killed have not had the opportunity to contribute to the world yet. How many would-be great lives were snuffed out in concentration camps the world will never know. Although we can be frightened and even killed by war, I think the world is the big loser in war because of the talents of our children that may never be used.

Thank you.

STATEMENT OF REED CLAXTON, WEST COVINA, CALIF.

Mr. CLAXTON. Members of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, my name is Reed Claxton. I am 11 years old and from West Covina, Calif.

Children all over the country watch the news on television. We see and hear what is going on in our country and world. Some of the things we see and hear scare us. One of the five things that concerns us most is atomic weapons. All of our lives we have had to live in the atomic age. When we were little, we did not understand what it was all about. Now we have learned what a nuclear war would do to our world. I have seen the pictures of what a small atomic bomb did in Japan in 1945. Today the world has many more bombs and much bigger ones. We need them just because we cannot get along. We do not trust each other. We do not have Christian love.

All of us children know an atomic war would be terrible. The explosion and the radiation would bring unbelievable suffering to humans and animals. No one wants a nuclear war, and we children want the world to beat these nuclear swords into plowshares.

We are worried a nuclear war might just happen. We know our President and you Members of Congress are working hard to reduce and do away with these terrible weapons. This is so very important to us, first, because the world will be a safer place to live; and second, because we would save lots and lots of money.

I saw a television program put on by World Vision that showed how many people all over the world need food and health care. Just think how much we could help these people if we did not have to spend so much money on nuclear arms.

So, please, please, for the sake of children all over the world keep working on nuclear disarmament so that people all over the world will find this a better place to live.

Yours in Christian love, Reed Claxton.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Before proceeding further, do you Gerry or the members of the committee have a question of any member of the panel that you would like to ask? Other panelists will speak to us soon and give us their thoughts, but do you have a question at this point.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Are they going to have the same opportunity to make the same presentation at the White House? Are you going to be able to testify?

Mrs. BENTON. There is one young woman who is going to sort of summarize what is in the letters, and then the letters will be presented at the White House, but not all of the children will be talking.

Mr. SIKORSKI. I would encourage as many of them as possible to read their letters.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman McKernan.

Mr. MCKERNAN. Thank you.

Before we move on I wanted to make a couple of comments.

One, I am pleased to see so many young people involved in, and interested in, an issue so important to this country. I try to talk about these issues, as some of you parents may do, with my son. He normally says to me, Dad, that is more than I want to know about the issue. Maybe if I learn from your presentation, to be as brief and to the point as you have been, I will have better luck.

Two, I just want to make sure that all of you realize the reason that we are in Congress is because we are concerned about the same issues. We are especially concerned about issues that affect children and families. That is why we are on this committee.

And, three, to leave you with one thought, and that is that you can make a difference, and you should stay involved in these issues, and you should stay involved and interested in government because there is going to come a time when you are going to be called upon to take our places in order to further have an impact on these issues that you are talking about here today.

So consider today's hearing to be the beginning of your involvement in these issues, because if you do not take an active and ongoing interest in these issues, in your later years some of these problems might not be solved.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Leland.

Mr. LELAND. I would like to thank you for your leadership on this matter, Mr. Chairman. This has probably been the most mind-opening kind of hearing that I have been in since elected to Congress. I am deeply moved by these young people, and I appreciate the messages they have shared with us today. I thank them for reminding the Congress the reasons for our being here.

I am particularly interested in the comments made by the young people who thought we ought to be concerned, about young people in the Third World. Though outside the realm of this country, the children indicated how much the Congress and our Nation can do

to help other people. I think that this is absolutely incredible of you, Mr. Chairman, to bring these young people here today.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Congresswoman Schroeder.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Well, I want all of you to go home and run for Congress. You are terrific. [Laughter.]

First of all, can I ask how many of you have both parents working? Could you just raise your hand?

[A show of hands.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Quite a few of you do. Are there any of you who have a single parent family?

[A show of hands.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I want to know what happens to you after school. If both parents are working what do you do after school?

VOICE. Well, you can just wait for your parents, watch TV, or get bored.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. But it is quite a long wait that everyone has before their parents get home?

VOICE. About 3 to 4 hours.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. And there are a lot of kids in your neighborhood that have the same problem?

VOICE. Most of them only have one parent and they are working because they have to work very long hours, so they have to make their own dinners, maybe even go to bed before their parents even get home.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Maybe that is why you have such adult feelings about these adult problems because you are having to act like adults.

Just another general question and you can just raise your hands. Do you think the ideas you have heard reflect the views of other kids that you know? Or is it that you are just terribly bright and that is why you are here? How many think it reflects the other kids views? Are these the kind of things that you talk about among your friends?

[A show of hands.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Very good. Well, I just want to commend you and I think it has been marvelous. You are showing us how life has changed for children in America and that you have some very profound thoughts. We all ought to listen to you a whole lot more.

Chairman MILLER. Marge, as I understand it, some of the children who have not had a chance to testify would like to have a chance to express their thoughts to the committee at the mike over here to their left, and we would certainly welcome that.

First of all, let me thank the two panels that did testify. I think the concerns and statements you have made today have helped bring about what was my fondest desire for today's hearing that is to help make our first hearing a celebration of opportunity. The fact that you are thinking about these issues, some of them which do not affect you but affect other children in other parts of the world and other parts of the country and their families and their fathers and mothers shoud help us focus on our job, expanding the opportunities for America's children.

If you would like to go over to the mike. I know some of you have statements. Where is Dorothy? She was my companion earlier this

morning. Dorothy has an ingenious plan for how we might rid the world of war with a different kind of exchange with the Soviet Union. Perhaps as we consider the freeze and arms reductions proposals Dorothy's exchange proposal should be considered as well.

STATEMENT OF DOROTHY ROYLE

Miss ROYLE. My name is Dorothy Royle and I am 11 years old, and this morning I was on the Good Morning America Show, but I consider the biggest problem facing the world's children today is the threat of war.

And my solution would be to have a massive exchange program between the United States and Russia so that we would be able to get to know these people better because that is the only way that we are going to stop this war. I mean, we cannot go and get these people together and say OK, we will reduce our arms if you reduce your arms. That does not work.

We have to get our people understanding each other and that is how we are going to solve this problem. So I figure that people would stay in each country for about 3 months so they get to know these people. But the biggest point of all would be that no country would declare war on another country where its own children were living. [Applause.]

Mr. LELAND. Mr. Chairman, could I ask a question?

Chairman MILLER. Sure.

Mr. LELAND. How old are you?

Miss ROYLE. Eleven.

Mr. LELAND. You were on Good Morning America?

Miss ROYLE. Yes.

Mr. LELAND. I understand Mr. Andropov invited you to go to Russia this summer. Are you going? I'm sorry, I have mistaken you for another young person.

Would you go to Russia?

Miss ROYLE. Would I go to Russia?

Mr. LELAND. Yes, if you were invited.

Miss ROYLE. I would go to Russia. Well, because another thing about this would be that your parents—different schools would exchange and your parents would get to know the parents in the other countries, since we have these phones that you pay $9.49 and you can call long distance to Russia or something.

You would be able to call these families and keep in touch with these families, so that the Russian child that was coming to live in your family would really know your parents very well and you would really know the parents of the other country very well. So yes, if I really knew the parents very well, yes, I would go over to Russia.

Mr. LELAND. Well, I hope you tell the President that.

Chairman MILLER. Who is next?

STATEMENT OF TARA HOVERMALE, BERKELEY SPRINGS, W. VA.

Miss HOVERMALE. My name is Tara Hovermale. I am 10 years old and I come from Berkeley Springs, W. Va.

I think that divorce is also a big problem facing children today, because in my class alone 10 of our 21 students come from broken

homes, 6 children with their mother and stepfather. Two children live with both parents but have stepbrothers living and sisters living with them.

One child lives with grandparents. One child lives with their father who adopted her while he was married to her natural mother and a stepmother.

I think that this problem could be solved if parents would try to work out their problems or think of the children instead of themselves.

Chairman MILLER. Who is next?

VOICE. I think the worst problem is child abuse because it is the root of other problems like street gangs and crimes because they have nowhere else to turn, so they go into the streets, and my solution would be to have shelters where children could go for counseling and parents, because the parents are the ones who really need the help, because they are beating their own kids.

They have to have some basic problem and we ought to have more foster home programs for kids and places where parents could go to recuperate.

Chairman MILLER. Your Congressman is right here.

VOICE. Well, why do we need bombs because what do you use bombs for but violence, and if you want a peaceful world, why do you make bombs? If you kill everybody, then there is not going to be anybody left. So if we want a peaceful world, why don't we maybe put all the bombs in an empty attic and lock the door, or do something that makes it so that the bombs, so you do not have the feeling that you want to use the bombs.

Like if you could put the President or the leaders of the countries that disagree in front of a chess table and they could play a game of chess and whoever wins, wins, instead of having everybody killed. Maybe the people who disagree on the subject, if they are wanting to have a war over it, and then those people are going to be killed because somebody else wants to—well, not wants to, but disagrees with somebody else and then they want to have a war.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Is she from Hubert Humphrey's Minnesota or not? [Laughter.]

STATEMENT OF NOEL GREEN, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. GREEN. My name is Noel Green and I represent Washington, D.C. My school committee studied the problem of poor health care of children in the United States and undeveloped countries. We learned that poor health is a product of many causes—unsanitary living conditions such as the absence of waste and sewage disposal systems, too few doctors, hospitals and medicines, and high infant mortality.

For example, in some poor countries, 40 percent of all children born today live less than 60 years; 16 percent are undernourished, 41 percent are without access to safe water, 42 percent have ineffective medical care.

My school has proposed some solutions to these problems—monetary and technical assistance and proper waste and sewage disposal systems, medical care facilities, medical schools and medicines, prenatal and preventive health care.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Someone must be here from Maryland. Which one of you wants to speak?

VOICE [reading]. I think the biggest problem facing children is hunger. I also have some solutions here with me. One is to teach them how to donate food. We need to send volunteers to other countries to teach them how to grow crops and show them how to build shelters.

Chairman MILLER. Did we have some students from Virginia?

Mrs. BENTON. Yes. Here is a young man who wants to read a poem.

Chairman MILLER. Here is a young man who is going to read the committee a poem and I think because of time this will end it up. I understand it is also your birthday, is that correct?

Mrs. BENTON. Yes, that is correct. He is my neighbor from Illinois.

Chairman MILLER. OK, go ahead.

VOICE.

I would like to live for a long, long time,
That I might see the world open wide,
Full of advantages for every child to enjoy.
There are so many problems,
Not so many facing us but facing other children—
Hunger, war, poverty, prejudice, divorce,
Pollution, drugs, poor health care, child abuse
And poor education. These problems did not start today,
They will not go away tomorrow.
I feel sad for children everywhere, but there is hope.
It would not hurt to say "I'll help a child today."
I'd like to live for a long, long time,
That I might see the world open wide,
Full of advantages for every child to enjoy.

[Applause.]

Chairman MILLER. Well, thank you very much. Will the young lady seated at the table please proceed.

VOICE. I think the biggest problem facing the world's children today is education. Education, I believe, is the problem because it is the key to all other problems, like unemployment and poor food and water and poor health care and lack of medical supplies.

If we could educate people, they would learn how to recognize water and how not to drink polluted water. They could grow their own food, fish, hunt, and build traps, if we educated them, and we could send teachers down there to teach them how to do these things, and then they could teach other people in the villages, and they could teach even more people.

We could raise the money by, like taking $1 off from everybody's income tax and then make it tax deductible, and that would give enough money. [Laughter.]

That would give enough money to have enough money and teachers, for the supplies, and people needed in other countries as well as in ours.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. There's one more young person I'd like to hear from.

STATEMENT OF ANGELA BLOCKER, ALIQUIPPA, PA.

Miss BLOCKER. Hello. My name is Angela Blocker, and I am 9 years old and I live in Aliquippa, Pa.

In our town over 65 percent of the steel mill workers have been laid off and in our section of western Pennsylvania dozens of factories and mills have been shutdown. We have to have food banks and free meals served.

Health problems are developing because people have lost their hospital benefits or do not have money to go to the doctor. Child abuse and other family problems are increasing because people are laid off and they have a lot of anger inside. Parents are worried and upset, so when they cannot pay their bills they take it out on their children.

Here is what can be done about unemployment. One, try to get mills and plants working again. Two, set up job retraining programs. Three, make laws to cut down on the use of foreign products to give Americans more jobs. Things are really critical. If we did not have free lunches and free breakfasts, many of the children in my school would go to bed hungry at night.

The problem of unemployment must be tackled immediately. Thank you. [Applause.]

Chairman MILLER. For those of you who could not see, that was not being read. That statement was coming from the heart.

Congressman Marriott.

Mr. MARRIOTT. George, we have two people here who have come all the way from Guam and maybe they could stand up and take a bow.

Chairman MILLER. You came from Guam?

VOICE. Yes.

Chairman MILLER. Do you have anything you would like to say? You came all this distance. You came further than the sun came this morning. [Laughter.]

VOICE. Really, I do not have much to say.

Chairman MILLER. I understand.

Thank you very much for coming all that way. One more statement.

Miss MORFINO. I think you should think of teaching as a high profession because most people want to be teachers, if you encourage them to, and that is all I have to say.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. The Congress just started down that road, finally recognizing the importance at least of math and science teachers.

Anything else?

Mr. MARRIOTT. George, whenever Congressmen start feeling important and know they cannot be replaced, I know of about 100 kids who could step in nicely today. Each of you are very important, and each of you have good reason to be very proud. You have a lot to offer.

We as a committee are very proud of you. We salute you. We salute your organization. Good luck to all of you. [Applause.]

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much all of you, and thank you for sitting here so long. You were great. You were wonderful.

The committee will stand in adjournment until 1:30, when we will have the next panel.

[Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p.m., the same day.]

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman MILLER. The committee will reconvene and our first witness this afternoon will be Mr. Bruce Chapman, who is the Director of the U.S. Census Bureau. Please identify for the reporter the other people at the table. Your statement, if you have a written statement, will be put in the record in its entirety and feel free to proceed as you are most comfortable.

STATEMENT OF BRUCE CHAPMAN, DIRECTOR, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, ACCOMPANIED BY GORDON GREEN, ASSISTANT CHIEF, POPULATION DIVISION, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU AND JAMES WEED, CHIEF, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY STATISTICS BRANCH, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU

Mr. CHAPMAN. Thank you. I would like to introduce at this time Mr. Gordon Green, who is the Assistant Chief of our Population Division at the Census Bureau, and Mr. James Weed, who is the Chief of our Marriage and Family Statistics Branch at the Census Bureau.

We have written testimony that we will submit for the record. At this time, Mr. Chairman, we have some graphs. I do not know if you can see them from where you are sitting, but we also have individual copies of the graphs, I believe, in front of you. I might say there are copies for other people who might be interested and I will just put them up here. Mr. Green will go through the charts with us.

What we would like to do here before you, Mr. Chairman, is examine the consequences of the changing family composition in this country. I think one could say in summary of it that there has been a lot of talk about social issues and a lot of talk about economic issues in our time, and the place where they meet is this matter of family composition and the subject of poverty.

We are seeing, as you know, a very steep rise over the past dozen years in the rate of marriage dissolutions from divorce and from separation. We are also seeing a prediction now from the Census Bureau that half of all current marriages will likely end in divorce if present rates of marital dissolution continue.

We also see that in the past number of years there has been a decline in the remarriage rate. That is to say, after people get divorced they are less likely now to get remarried than they were in the past. There has been a decline of 30 percent in those remarriage rates for divorced women aged 25 to 44 years.

Another fact we know about the situation is that the number of births out of wedlock has gone up at least in terms of the proportion of all births. In this chart we see that the proportion of children born out of wedlock, which is very different but rising in both black and white categories, has gone from 2 percent in 1960 to 9 percent in 1979 for whites, and from 22 percent in 1960 to 55 percent in 1979 for the blacks.

As I say, this is not a numerical trend because it plays against a decline generally in births in this country, but it is a proportional trend, a rising proportion of all births in this country.

Four out of ten out-of-wedlock births are to teenagers in America. There are a great many consequences which you can speculate about as well as I, but one of them is that, according to Dr. Marvin Wolfgang of the University of Pennsylvania, this may influence the crime rate in years to come.

Taking these factors—increased divorce rate, increased separation, increased proportion of births out of wedlock—we see, not surprisingly, a huge increase in the families maintained by women with no husband present. As you notice, again there is a disparity between the races, but it is up in both categories, from 9 percent in 1960 to 12 percent in 1980 for whites, and from 22 percent in 1960 to 40 percent of all families among the black population.

When we look at these families, what do we know about their lives? We know that for all families, of course, the cost of raising children is high and it is rising. A Bureau of Labor Statistics study recently showed that 67 percent more income is needed to raise two children than none and, of course, when you are talking about that kind of increased burden, it is especially hard for the single parent.

Another thing we know about these particular families that are maintained by females, only about 35 percent of them are getting child support from the father. It is no wonder, then, that some 50 percent of such families get one form or another of public assistance.

In this particular chart you can see that participation in Government transfer programs varies by sex. It is much higher for female maintained families than for male maintained families. Collectively, over 50 percent of families maintained by women are, in one form or another, on public assistance.

So the high rate of female family householder participation does lead, in fact, to larger expenditures for poverty programs as the number of these families maintained by women increases.

I might say that this phenomenon seems to operate somewhat apart from economic conditions generally, and this, of course, has tremendous consequences because it says that even as the economy improves we do not necessarily see an improvement for these families, that their condition operates somewhat outside of other economic conditions.

This is a proper time, then, to move into the murky but very important question of the measurement of poverty. What do we mean by poverty? We know that the size of the official poverty population increased from 1970 to 1980 by some 6 million, and yet this was the same period of time in which spending on poverty increased sharply at the Federal level.

At the bottom of the chart you see the increase in official poverty. It ends in 1980 on that chart, but we know that in 1981 it also increased in total numbers, and yet at the top, as you see, for the same period there was a sharp increase in the amount of spending.

However, during the past few decades the nature of Government transfer benefits has changed. Whereas, in 1965, two-thirds of all the dollars that were spent on transfer payments were in the form

of cash payments of various kinds, by 1980 two-thirds of all the dollars spent were in noncash payments such as food stamps, public housing, and supplements, and so forth. Moreover, the total volume of benefits was much larger in 1980 than in 1965.

Now what is interesting here is that the official poverty figures do not count in-kind payments, so that the entire red category shown at the top of the chart, which has increased most rapidly, is not included in the official estimates of poverty in this country. Yet, of course, these official poverty figures are what matter in many people's eyes.

Recently the Census Bureau did a study which showed the result of including noncash or in-kind benefits in measuring poverty in this country. As you see, if only cash income is included in the determination of poverty, the poverty rate was 11.1 percent in 1979. If, however, food, housing, and medical benefits were also counted at their full market value, the poverty rate would be reduced to 6.4 percent.

There is a lot of controversy, of course, over how one might measure those benefits, whether they should be at the market value or some other value. So we need to look at the question of the measurement of poverty when we think about this subject.

By the same token, we need to look at the role of family stability if we want to understand the changing dynamics of the poverty population and, for that matter, the composition of poverty itself. There has been a huge increase, as I said, in female-maintained families, which in turn has changed the basic composition of the poverty population.

As you see, the percent of families in poverty maintained by a woman has gone up very steeply, from 24 percent in 1960 to 48 percent in 1980. As a matter of fact, the change has been so dramatic that if you look at full-time workers in poverty there was a very low poverty rate and, in fact, the full-time workers that are listed in poverty are largely a function of large family size.

And it is safe to say that if it were not for the large increase in single-parent families, poverty would be a smaller problem than it is now in America. How much difference the family composition makes in poverty levels is shown in this next chart.

In this next chart you see that in 1970 we published a poverty rate for whites of 8 percent. In 1980, it was also 8 percent. But if we were to use the same demographic profile in terms of family composition that existed in 1970—the same proportion of families maintained by woman and so forth, and held everything else constant—then the poverty rate for whites would have been 5.9 percent in 1980.

The change is also very dramatic when you look at the black population in the same way. The poverty rate for blacks was 29.5 percent in 1970, whereas in 1980, it was 28.9 percent—actually a small decline in the official rate. But if you were to adjust for changes in family composition that have taken place in that decade it would have been only, about 19.9 percent in 1980.

Well, one of the things that this tells us is that the official rates and the official picture which pulls all families together changes or, rather, masks the real progress that was made during that

decade by intact families. Families that had two parents did much better financially.

What conclusion can we draw from this? Well, poverty is increasingly a function of family composition rather than economic conditions alone. And obviously the data that we presented here today raise the question of the future of children in our society and how their interests are handled.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Bruce Chapman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BRUCE CHAPMAN, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades it has become increasingly common for both husbands and wives to be employed outside the home. Wives typically work before bearing children, and increasing numbers also continue to work during and after their pregnancies. Their work may be prompted by their own emerging career interests as a result of increased education, or by rising wages and expanding job opportunities for women, as they seek to maintain or increase the family's standard of living in the face of inflation or economic uncertainty. During the last 20 years more and more couples have also been ending their marriages in divorce, with each person maintaining a separate household. Divorced women who maintain their own households are very likely to work outside the home. Even if they work, their household income is usually considerably reduced from the level that they experienced as married women, and consequently many divorced women may qualify for public benefits designed to assist the needy.

These recent trends have given rise to frequent expressions of concern for the demise of the family as the fundamental institution in American society. Almost as frequently, one may hear counterclaims expressing satisfaction with certain social changes that may be producing more equitable or more enlightened family relationships. It is very difficult to weigh the pros and cons of all the changes taking place in society, but for a variety of policy and program reasons, both public and private, the effort to qualitatively evaluate the impact of change continues to be made. An important element of this enterprise is the gathering and analysis of relevant data regarding as many facets of family life as possible. The topics selected for discussion are intended to further this effort.

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

In the last ten to twenty years, dramatic changes have taken place in the specific kinds of social behavior that demographically contribute to the process of family formation. Fertility has declined to historically low levels. During the mid-1970's, the fertility of American women was at a rate that would result in about 1.8 children by the end of their childbearing years, a level approximately one-half that recorded during the peak of the baby boom in the 1950's. In addition, marriage rates have fallen, while out-of-wedlock births and divorce have risen.[1] These trends have produced significant changes in family structure. The following summarizes recent changes in marriage, divorce, and family structure, as a basis for the discussion of the changing status of families.

MARRIAGE TRENDS AND DIFFERENTIALS

In 1979 there were more marriages performed in the United States (2,331,337) than in any previous year. In fact, the 1979 total exceeded for the first time the prior all-time record of 2,291,045 marriages performed in 1946 at the close of World War II. The national marriage totals for 1980, 1981, and 1982 were even higher, provisionally estimated at 2,413,000, 2,438,000, and 2,495,000, respectively.

Although the United States is now experiencing record numbers of marriages, this does not necessarily mean that Americans are any more inclined to be the "marrying kind" today than they have been in the past, despite suggestions along these lines in the press. The marriage total may very well be at record levels, but increasing proportions of these marriages are remarriages for the brides or grooms

[1] Although some recent statistics suggest that the divorce rate may have dipped, it remains to be seen whether this is the beginning of a new trend.

or both, as a result of high divorce rates. According to the latest data published by the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) for the Marriage Registration Area [2] (MRA), only about 68 percent of the brides in the MRA in 1979 were marrying for the first time as compared with 77 percent in 1969. In other words, the national marriage total is now larger than it would be if the divorce rate were lower and there were fewer remarriages. In addition, the national marriage total for 1979 probably would have been larger by more than a half million marriages if the unmarried population in 1979 had married at the same rates (that is, with the same propensity) that occurred in 1969.

Indeed, the marriage rate for 1979 was lower than the rate for any other year since 1940. During the last four decades, the highest rate was recorded in the very atypical year of 1946: 118.1 marriages per 1,000 unmarried women 15 years and over. In the last 20 years the highest rate occurred in 1969. Since that time the rate declined every year, dropping by 20 percent from 80.0 marriages per 1,000 unmarried women in 1969 to 63.6 in 1979, the most recent year for which such rates are available from NCHS.

Figures published for the MRA demonstrate the changes that have occurred over the last decade in the propensity to marry among certain subgroups of the population. Most striking are the declines in first-marriage rates for young men and women. Specifically, the first-marriage rate for women aged 18 and 19 declined 43 percent between 1969 and 1979. In the same 10-year period the rate for women aged 20 to 24 years declined 48 percent and the rate for women 25 to 29 years declined 29 percent (Figure 1). First-marriage rates for men in these same three age groups declined 44 percent, 47 percent, and 39 percent, respectively, between 1969 and 1979.

The effect of these recently declining marriage rates can be seen in the percent of the population in various age groups that have never been married. Table 1 shows for women the percent never married in 1960, 1970, and 1981. In the two periods of 1960–70 and 1970–81, similar increases occurred in the percent never married for women aged 18 and 19 years. However, for the age group 25 to 29 years, the percent never married did not change between 1960 and 1970, and then more than doubled between 1970 and 1981. In 1960, 1 out of 10 women aged 25 to 29 years had never been married; today that figure is 1 out of 5.

In general, Black women have significantly higher proportions never married than do White women. For example, in 1981 the proportion of Black women aged 30 to 34 years who had never married was more than double the corresponding proportion for White women. Indeed, the differential between White and Black women seems to be increasing in most age groups shown in Table 1.

Closely related to this postponement or foregoing of marriage is the phenomenon of nonmarital fertility. In general, the longer a woman remains single during her fecund years, the greater is the probability of her ever having an out-of-wedlock birth. Of the 3.5 million children born in 1979, 17 percent (approximately 600,000) were born to unmarried women, up from 11 percent (or 400,000) in 1970. Among White children the proportion increased from 6 percent born out-of-wedlock in 1970 to 9 percent in 1979, while among Black children the proportion increased from 38 percent in 1970 to 55 percent in 1979. Four out of every ten out-of-wedlock births in 1979 were to teenage women, a group which is unlikely to have adequate incomes or job prospects. The increase in out-of-wedlock births, from 400,000 in 1970 to 600,000 in 1979, is not the result of an increased rate of child-bearing among unmarried women, but rather, an increase in the number of unmarried women who could potentially have an out-of-wedlock birth.

DIVORCE TRENDS AND DIFFERENTIALS

The increase in the divorce rate over the last 15 years is probably more widely known than the decline in marriage. Between 1965 and 1979 the divorce rate increased by 115 percent, from 10.6 per 1,000 married women aged 15 and over to 22.8 per 1,000. A rate of 22.8 per 1,000 may appear to be not particularly large, but when the annual rate is "compounded" over time, the impact of today's period (annual) divorce rates can be most striking. Figure 2 demonstrates the rising tide of divorce from the perspective of annual marriage cohorts (that is, all marriages performed in a given year) from 1950 to 1977. For example, by the end of 1977, when the 1.5 million marriages in the cohort of 1952 would have celebrated their 25th wedding anniversary, fully 29 percent of the couples in the cohort had dissolved their marriages by divorce.

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[2] In 1979, the marriage registration area included 42 States plus the District of Columbia. Each of these reporting areas provided copies of marriage certificates to NCHS annually.

Divorce data from vital statistics indicate that more recent marriage cohorts have fared no better, and most likely will end up faring worse than earlier cohorts. Of the marriages performed in 1957, about 29 percent had ended in divorce by 1977, their would-be 20th anniversary. By 1977, divorce had disrupted about 30 percent of the 1962 cohort and 28 percent of the 1967 cohort, before their 15th and 10th anniversaries, respectively. Thus almost equal proportions—roughly 3 out of 10—had ended in divorce by 1977 for each of these cohorts. That is, each succeeding cohort had reached the 3-out-of-10 proportion at a shorter duration of marriage.

The final story on the divorce experience of these cohorts will not be known for many years. But if the current pattern of divorce rates should continue into the future, another 3 percent of the 1952 cohort would experience divorce, for a total of 32 percent. The cohorts of 1957, 1962, and 1967 would have, respectively, another 6, 10, and 17 percent of their marriages ended by divorce. If the current pattern of duration-specific divorce rates continues in the future, it is possible that half of more recent annual marriage cohorts could end in divorce.

Another index of marital disruption is the divorce ratio, which relates the number of currently divorced persons to the number of currently married persons (with spouse present). Table 2 shows differentials in the divorce ratio by sex, race, and Spanish origin for selected points of time in the last two decades. For example, among Black women in 1981, there were 289 who were divorced for every 1,000 who were married with husband present. The divorce ratio for Black women was more than double the ratio for White women. Moreover, the race differential has widened for both sexes over the last 20 years.[3]

A majority of couples that experience marital disruption go on to terminate their marriage in a legal divorce. In some cases, however, the couple may not seek an immediate divorce, but choose instead to remain separated for an indefinite period. Over the last decade there has been a dramatic increase in the percent of ever-married women aged 25 to 44 who are divorced or separated. Specifically, for White women, the percent divorced or separated increased only from 5 to 7 percent between 1960 and 1970, and then doubled to 15 percent in 1981 (4 percent were separated and 11 percent were divorced). The level of divorce and separation is much higher for Black women, for whom the percentage increased from 19 percent in 1960 and 25 percent in 1970, and 39 percent in 1981 (21 percent were separated and 18 percent were divorced).

CHANGES IN FAMILY STRUCTURE

During the period from 1970 to 1981 the number of families[4] in the United States increased by 17 percent, rising from 51.6 million to 60.3 million (Table 3). Married-couple families accounted for a little more than half of the 8.7 million increase in families, although the number of married-couple families with own children under 18 years of age actually declined by 0.6 million. This change reflects the low levels of fertility occurring in the 1970's. Compared with married-couple families, proportionally larger gains occurred for families maintained by a man or woman with no spouse present, and even larger gains were experienced by single-parent families (generally reflecting high levels of separation and divorce).[4]

As a result of such trends in family composition, married-couple families comprised 82 percent of all families in 1981 (compared to 87 percent in 1970), while married-couple families with own children comprised only 41 percent (vs. 50 percent in 1970). Meanwhile, single-parent families maintained by a woman comprised about 9 percent of families in 1981, compared to 6 percent in 1970.

Of the three race/ethnic groups shown in Table 3, only the families with a householder of Spanish origin experienced an increase between 1970 and 1981 in the number of married-couple families with own children. In 1981 more than half of all families of Spanish origin were married couples with own children. Such families comprised about 31 percent of all Black families and 42 percent of all White families. In 1981, families maintained by a female householder with no husband present comprised 1 out of 10 White families, 4 out of 10 Black families, and 2 out of 10 families of Spanish origin.

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[3] The divorce ratio is affected by changes in remarriage as well as in divorce, because the population of divorced persons increases as couples divorce and declines as persons remarry. Hence, race differences in the divorce ratio will also reflect race differentials in remarriage.

[4] A family is a group of two or more persons (one of whom maintains the household, i.e., is the householder) related by birth, marriage, or adoption and residing together. Single parent families have children present.

Among White families there was considerable increase between 1970 and 1981 in the percent of families with own children maintained by a man with no wife present.

FAMILY INCOME AND POVERTY—TRENDS AND DIFFERENTIALS IN FAMILY INCOME

The trend in median family income since 1947 is shown in Table 4. In current dollars, the median income of all families has increased every year in the last decade, including a 7 percent increase between 1979 and 1980. However, as a result of inflation, there has been very little change since 1970 in median family income when expressed in constant (1980) dollars (Table 5). Indeed, there was less than 100 dollars difference between the real median family incomes of 1970 and 1980. Between 1979 and 1980 the average American family experienced a significant decline of 5 percent in real income as the result of a 14.2 percent increase in consumer prices. According to a recent Census Bureau report, "This represents the first statistically significant annual decline in real median family income since 1974–75 and the largest decline recorded in the post-World War II period." In 1980 the median income for White families was $21,904, compared with $12,674 for Black families and $14,716 for Spanish-origin families. All three groups experienced significant declines in 1980, but the rates of change were not significantly different among the three groups.

Part of the difference between the median incomes of Black and White families can be traced to income differentials by family type and to the race differential in family composition. Among all families, the 1980 median income of families with a female householder (no husband present) was $10,408, about 45 percent of the median income for all married-couple families and 39 percent of the median income for married-couple families with the wife in the paid labor force (Table 6). Among families with householders working year round full time, families with a female householder (no husband present) had a median income that was 58 percent of the median income for married-couple families. In conjunction with these facts, Table 6 shows that in 1981, families maintained by a female householder with no husband present represented a much larger proportion of Black families (42 percent) than of White families (12 percent). Thus, one could expect considerable difference in overall median family income between the two race groups on the basis of differentials in family composition.

Family composition differentials cannot account for the total income difference between races however. To illustrate, compare the median incomes for White and Black married-couple families with wife in the paid labor force ($27,238 and $22,795, respectively). In fact, there is more than $6,000 difference between the median incomes of Black and White married-couple families with the wife not in the paid labor force, whether or not the householder works year round full time. Other factors such as education, occupation, and residence may also contribute to differences in income between races.

TRENDS AND DIFFERENTIALS IN FAMILY POVERTY

One way to make income-type comparisons among various subgroups is to use the poverty (low-income) classification, according to which families (and unrelated individuals) are classified as being above or below the poverty level using poverty thresholds, that is, poverty cutoff levels. Based solely on money income, the poverty classification in effect controls for family size and composition; also, the thresholds are adjusted for inflation each year using the Consumer Price Index. Thus, in 1980 the average poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four was $8,414, about 13.5 percent higher than the 1979 threshold of $7,412.

Figure 3 shows the time series for families below the poverty level since 1959. Between 1959 and 1969 there was relatively little change in the annual number of families with female householder (no husband present) below the poverty level. But since 1969, there has been a distinctly upward trend in the number of poor families maintained by women. On contrast, the number of all other families below the poverty level declined rapidly until about 1969, and then fluctuated for a decade. Both married-coupled families and families with a female householder (no husband present) experienced significant increases in the number below the poverty level between 1979 and 1980. In recent years, about one-half of all families below the poverty level were maintained by women with no husband present. This is in sharp contrast with the early 1960's when 1 out of 4 families below the poverty level were maintained by women with no husband present.

Table 7 provides further details on changes in the distribution of families below the poverty level by race and Spanish origin of the householder. In 1959, families

with female householders (no husband present) made up 20 percent of all White families below the poverty level and 30 percent of all Black families below the poverty level. By 1980 this difference widened, as poor families maintained by women grew to comprise 38 percent of all poor White families and 71 percent of all poor Black families. Moreover, 44 percent of all poor families maintained by a female with no husband present had a Black householder in both 1973 and 1980, as compared with 29 percent in 1959. Among all poor families with a householder of Spanish origin less than half were maintained by a woman with no husband present in the years 1973–80 (the period for which data are available).

Family poverty rates are shown in Table 8 by race and Spanish origin. The poverty rate is the percentage of families (or persons) in a given group that is classified as being below the poverty level. Thus, in 1959, almost 43 percent of all families with female householders (no husband present) were below the poverty level established for that year. The poverty rate was 35 percent of such families with a White householder and 65 percent for those with a Black householder. In comparison, the 1959 poverty rate for all other families was 13 percent for families with a White householder and 43 percent for those with a Black householder.

It can be seen in Table 8 that by 1979 the poverty rate had dropped considerably for each race and family group mentioned above. Although the decline generally has been much slower in the last decade, the poverty rate of families maintained by women (no husband present) did reach its lowest point over a 20-year period in 1979 for White and Black families, and the lowest point since 1973 for Spanish-origin families (the earliest year for which data are available). In 1980, however there was a significant increase in the poverty rate for most groups shown in Table 8; this increase accompanied the 1980 drop in real median income discussed in the last section.

Some rather striking poverty-rate differentials are shown in Table 9. Among all types of families, the poverty rate in 1980 was lowest for White families with no related children under 18 (4 percent) and highest for Black families with five or more related children (70 percent). In each race or ethnic group, the poverty rate rose rapidly with each additional child present in the family. As expected, poverty rates were considerably higher in each subgroup for families maintained by a woman with no husband present; indeed, 9 out of 10 such families maintained by a Black woman with five or more related children were below the poverty level.

There is also a tendency for families below the poverty level to have a somewhat larger average size than the total of all families combined. In 1980, the largest average size among the groups shown in Table 10 occurred for Spanish-origin families below the poverty level.

THE EFFECTS OF CHANGING FAMILY COMPOSITION ON INCOME POVERTY

The increasing proportion of families maintained by women has undoubtedly affected overall income and poverty levels, since such families tend to be a relatively low-income group. The Bureau of the Census conducted a special study to measure the effect of changes in family composition on income and poverty levels.[5] This analysis did not make adjustments for other factors that are correlated with income, such as occupation, education, and residence. In this study, income and poverty statistics were re-calculated for 1980, assuming that family composition and age structure had remained the same as in 1970. These statistics were then compared to published statistics for 1980 to measure the effect of changes in family composition during the last decade on income and poverty levels.

As would be expected, the analysis suggested a significant correlation between family composition changes and income and poverty levels. Moreover, the effect was larger for Black families than for White families, since the former group experienced much larger changes in family composition during the last decade. As shown in Table 11, adjusting for changes in family composition raises the growth of real median income for White families from 1 to 3 percent during the last decade. For Black families, however, adjusting for family composition changes converts a 5 percent decline in real median family income during the decade to an 11-percent gain. These data suggest that, in the absence of changes in family composition, the average income of Black families would have increased more rapidly than the average income of White families. Changes in family composition have also had a significant effect on poverty rates during the last decade. As shown in Table, the adjusted poverty rate for Black families is 19.9 in 1980, or 9 percentage points lower than the

[5] U.S. Bureau of Census, Special Demographic Analyses, CDS–80–7, "Changing Family Composition and Income Differentials," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1982.

published estimate. The adjusted poverty rate for White families is 5.9 in 1980, about 2 percentage points lower than the published estimate. Thus, the relatively more frequent splitting up of families through divorce and separation and the creation of more female householders in general have been closely associated with the maintenance of high official poverty rates for these groups.

CHILD-SUPPORT PAYMENTS

With the rapid rise in separation and divorce, the increase in the number of families maintained by women with no husband present, and the relatively low income level of such families, there has been growing interest and concern regarding the adequacy or availability of alternative resources for families with a female householder. In this section and the next, consideration will be given to several types of resources, some of which are of special importance to female family householders. Childsupport payments, for example, constitute a potentially significant source of income for separated or divorced women.

Of the 7.1 million ever-divorced, separted, or never-married American women who in 1979 had children under 21 years of age from an absent father, almost half (48 percent) were supposed to have received child support payments in 1978, while another 41 percent had neither been awarded nor had agreements for such payments (Table 13). (See below for percent which actually received payments.) Among the subgroup of these women who had incomes below the poverty level in 1978, less than one-third (30 percent) were supposed to receive child support payments in 1978, and 62 percent had not been awarded payments.

There are important differences by race and ethnicity in the award of child support payments. Thus, in 1978, 59 percent of ever-divorced, separated, or never-married White women with children under 21 were supposed to receive payments, as compared with 22 percent of Black women. Among those women below the poverty level, the percent of White women who were supposed to receive payments dropped to 42 percent, as compared with a much smaller drop to 18 percent of Black women. The comparable figures for women of Spanish origin fell between those for White and Black women.

Among those women who were supposed to receive child support payments in 1978, a somewhat larger proportion of White women (73 percent) than Black women (63 percent) actually received payments, but among women below the poverty level, the proportion of White women who actually received payments (58 percent) was a little smaller than for Black women (61 percent). Almost two-thirds of Spanish origin women who were supposed to receive payments actually did so.

Of the 7.1 million women who had children under 21 years of age from an absent father, 2.5 million (35 percent) actually received some payments in 1978, and only 1.7 million (24 percent) received full payments. Of course, child support payments were of considerable importance to those who received them. As table 14 shows, income from child support represented about one-fifth of the total mean money income for women who received payments in 1978, regardless of race or Spanish origin. In comparison with the $8,940 mean total money income of women who received payments, those women who were awarded but did not receive payments in 1975 had a mean total income of $6,220; even lower was the mean income of women who were not awarded payments ($4,840). Among women with incomes below the poverty level who received child support payments in 1978 such payments constituted about one-third of their total income in 1978.

In summary, of the 7.1 million women with children present from an absent father, about 4.6 million did not receive child support payments in 1978. That is, about 65 percent of these mothers had to rely entirely on sources other than the father for their children's support. About 35 percent of these 4.6 million women had incomes below the poverty level, and about one-third of them received some form of public assistance income.

NONCASH BENEFITS TO HOUSEHOLDS

Several government programs provide assistance to ouseholds in the form of noncash benefits. Three types of such benefits will be discussed here, including food stamps, medicaid coverage, and public or other subsidized housing.

Food Stamp Recipiency.—According to the Food Stamp Act of 1977, this Federally funded program was intended to permit low-income households to obtain a more nutritious diet. Food purchasing power is increased by providing eligible households with coupons which can be used to purchase food. Administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture through state and local welfare offices, the Food Stamp Program constitutes a major national income support system that provides benefits to

all low-income and low-resource households regardless of household characteristics (e.g., sex, age, disability).

Table 15 provides a brief profile of all American households as of March 1981 (with income for 1980) and households receiving food stamps in 1980. Overall, there were 6.8 million households receiving food stamps in 1980, representing 8 percent of the total 82.4 million households. Among households receiving food stamps, 35 percent had a Black householder and 63 percent a White householder whereas among all households, these proportions were 11 percent and 87 percent, respectively. In addition, it may be noted that households maintained by a woman with no husband present accounted for 41 percent of all households receiving food stamps, but only 11 percent of all households regardless of recipiency status. The poverty rate for households receiving food stamps was 65 percent, compared with 13 percent for all households, and the median income for recipient households ($5,540) was less than one-third as large as for all households ($17,710).

Among all households below the poverty level, only 40 percent received food stamps; this figure was 34 percent for poor White households, 59 percent for poor Black households, and 52 percent for poor Spanish-origin households. About 7 out of 10 poor households maintained by a woman with no husband present received food stamps, as did 6 out of 10 poor households with members under 19 years old.

Medicaid Coverage.—According to the 1965 Amendments to the Social Security Act (Public Law 89-97), the Medicaid Program is intended "to furnish medical assistance on behalf of needy families with dependent children, and of aged, blind, or permanently and totally disabled individuals whose incomes and resources are insufficient to meet the costs of necessary medical services." Basically a categorical program, medicaid has complex eligibility rules that vary from state to state. Eligible individuals include the categorically eligible (including all recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, most recipients of Supplemental Security Income, and other needy persons who meet basic state cash assistance or other eligibility rules) and the medically needy (persons meeting categorical age, sex, or disability criteria whose money incomes and assets exceed eligibility levels for cash assistance but are not sufficient to meet the cost of medical care). In the data to be reported below for 1980, a household was defined as "covered by medicaid" if one or more adult persons were "enrolled" in medicaid, that is, had a medicaid medical assistance card or incurred medical bills which were paid by medicaid.

Data in Table 15 show that about 1 in 10 households was covered by medicaid in 1980. Among the 8.3 million households covered by medicaid, 67 percent had a White householder and 30 percent a Black householder, a distribution not too dissimilar to that for households receiving food stamps. Moreover, 37 percent were households maintained by a woman with no husband present and 53 percent had members under 19 years old. The poverty rate for medicaid households was 53 percent, somewhat lower than that for households receiving food stamps (65 percent), but considerably higher than that for all households regardless of recipiency status (13 percent). Among all households below the poverty level, the percent covered by medicaid was about the same as the percent receiving food stamps in each of the race or ethnic groups shown in Table 15.

Public or Other Subsidized Housing Recipiency.—Under the U.S. Housing Act of 1937 (Public Law 75-412), housing assistance is provided to families of low income through either low-rent public housing projects or other subsidized housing programs. Under the Low Rent Public Housing Program, public housing projects are owned, managed and administered by a local housing authority, and participation is determined by program eligibility and availability of housing. Several other programs provide subsidized housing to low-income families either by providing rent supplements (i.e., the government pays the difference between "fair market" rent and the rent paid by the tenant) or by an interest reduction plan (i.e., interest paid on mortgage by an owner is reduced so that subsequent savings may be passed on to tenants in form of lower rent charges).

According to data for 1980 shown in Table 16, about 1 out of 10 renter-occupied households were residing in publicly owned or other subsidized housing. Of the 2.8 million renter households in public or subsidized housing, 37 percent were family households maintained by a woman with no husband present. The poverty rate for all households in public or subsidized housing was 51 percent, more than twice the rate for all renter households. Among the 6.1 million renter households below the poverty level, only 1.4 million (24 percent) were in public or subsidized housing; this percentage was 19 percent for White households, 33 percent for Black households, and 18 percent for Spanish-origin households. Almost one-third of poor family renter-occupied households maintained by a woman with no husband present resided in public or subsidized housing. In general the participation rate of poor

households was lower for public or subsidized housing than for the food stamp or medicaid programs.

NONCASH BENEFITS AND THE MEASUREMENT OF POVERTY

The market value of major means-tested noncash benefits distributed to the low-income population has increased dramatically over the past few decades. As shown in Table 17, the market value of food stamps, free or reduced price school lunches, public housing, and medicaid amounted to $42.1 billion in 1980. By 1980, these noncash benefits outweighed cash public assistance (such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children) by a margin of more than two-to-one.

The official definition of poverty is based on money income alone, and does not take into account the numerous in-kind benefits received by the low-income population. As a result, many analysts feel that the official poverty statistics overstate the true extent of poverty. Noncash benefits have not been incorporated into the official definition of poverty because there has been much disagreement as to how they should be valued. In response to a request from the U.S. Senate, the Census Bureau prepared a research report that presents several alternative methodologies for valuing noncash benefits and measures the effects of these valuations on estimates of the size and composition of the poverty population.[6]

The Census report examined three approaches for measuring noncash benefits: (1) market value, (2) recipient or cash equivalent value, and (3) poverty budget share value.

1. The market value is equal to the purchase price in the private market of the goods received by the recipient, e.g., the face value of food stamps.

2. The recipient or cash equivalent value is the amount of cash that would make the recipient just as well off as the in-kind transfer; it, therefore, reflects the recipient's own valuation of the benefit. The recipient or cash equivalent value is usually less than and never more than the market value. Even though cash equivalent value is the theoretically preferred measure, it is quite difficult to estimate, especially for medical care.

3. The poverty budget share value which is tied to the current poverty concept, limits the value of food, housing, or medical transfers to the proportions spent on these items by persons at or near the poverty line in 1960–61, when in-kind transfers were minimal. It assumes that in-kind transfers in excess of these amounts are not relevant for determining poverty status because an excess of one type of good (e.g., housing) does not compensate for a deficiency in another good (e.g., medical care). Because the value of in-kind transfers are limited in this way, the poverty budget share approach assigns the lowest average values to in-kind transfers of the three methods used.

This research indicated that valuing noncash benefits has a significant effect on the estimated number of poor. Table 18 indicates that the market value approach for valuing food, housing, and medical benefits would lower the estimated number of poor by about 42 percent in 1979, or from 11.1 to 6.4 percent of the total population. Valuing these benefits using cash equivalent value or poverty budget share value lowers the estimated number of poor by a smaller amount. As noted earlier, families maintained by a woman with no husband present have much higher poverty rates than other families and are also more likely to receive noncash benefits. Table 19 indicates that valuing these benefits at market value would halve the poverty rate for female householders—from 35 to 18 percent for 1979.

The official method used to measure the poverty population is still based on money income alone. The Census Bureau has not endorsed any particular valuation method, and moreover, is not empowered to change the concept or measurement of poverty. The Census Bureau study has presented the various methods for valuing means-tested noncash benefits and discussed their strengths and weaknesses. More work needs to be done in the area on nonmeans-tested noncash benefits, such as employer fringe benefits, the advantages of owner-occupied housing, and so forth. The value of these benefits is actually larger than means-tested benefits, and must be taken into account if we are to have a better understanding of the distribution of income in our society.

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[6] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Technical Paper No. 50, "Alternative Methods for Valuing Selected In-Kind Transfer Benefits and Measuring Their Effect on Poverty," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982.

FAMILIES AND EMPLOYMENT—EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

One of the more impressive changes in the American civilian labor force over the last half century has been the increasing participation of women in the work force. As Table 20 shows, the labor force participation rate for all women of working age has more than doubled since 1930, rising from 24 percent to 52 in 1981. Thus, more than half of working-age women are now in the civilian labor force. As a result of this movement it is not surprising that, as a proportion of the total labor force, women now comprise 43 percent, almost double the percentage recorded in 1930. The labor force participation of women has risen concurrently with an increase in the number of young unmarried women and in the number of families maintained by women with no husband present.

There is another feature of the rising labor force participation of women that is of considerable importance in terms of changing social and economic behavior, even though its motivation may not be quite so apparent as that of the female family householder. The feature referred to is the rising number of multi-earner families, a trend whose major component has been the growing propensity for wives to participate in the labor force. According to data for 1981, 3 out of every 5 married-couple families reported having 2 or more wage earners in the year 1980. Indeed, both the husband and wife reported being wage earners in 1980 in more than half (that is, 52 percent) of all married-couple families surveyed in March 1981. This compares with 46 percent of married-couple families having both hauband and wife as earners in 1969.

The impact of wives' earnings on family income is demonstrated in Table 21. In 1980, the median family income of married-couple families with both husband and wife as earners was $27,745, which was 36 percent higher than the $20,472 median income of married-couple families with only the husband as earner. Part of the motivation for increased participation of wives may derive from the slowdown in growth of real family income during the last decade as compared with prior decades (see the discussion of Tables 5 and 8 in prior sections of this paper), and perhaps also from the declining real value of federal income tax deductions for dependents. To some extent, the American family has probably avoided an actual deterioration of its economic status by the increased participation of wives in the labor force, but their entry could also have affected wage rates.

The labor force participation rates of women in 1981 are shown in Table 22 according to martial status and presence of children. More than half of all married women, spouse present, were in the labor force in 1981. The rate for Black wives was somewhat higher than this (59 percent), while the rates for White and Spanish-origin wives were close to the one-half mark (50 percent and 47 percent, respectively).

Among White wives the labor force participation rate was about one-third larger for those with own children 6 to 17 years, none younger, than for those with 1 or more own children under 6 years (62 percent and 46 percent, respectively). For divorced White women the corresponding rates rose dramatically to 85 percent with children 6 to 17 years old only and 66 percent with children under 6. Even with no children under 18 years, divorced White women has a 73 percent participation rate.

Black wives and divorced women had the same pattern of a greater participation rate for those with children 6 to 17 only than for those with children under 6 years. However, the rate for divorced Black women with preschool children was slightly lower than the rate for married Black women, spouse present, with such children, contrary to the pattern for White women.

In general, Table 22 indicates that participation rates were uniformly greater for Black women than for White women only in the category of married, spouse present. Rates for never-married and divorced Black women tended to be somewhat lower than for White women in these two categories. The rates for Spanish-origin wives were in almost all cases lower than for White wives, irrespective of the presence of children in the age categories shown in Table 22.

EMPLOYMENT AND CHILDBEARING

As described in the last section, a remarkable pattern of labor force activity has emerged for American women, with participation rates ranging from almost half of all wives with preschool children to more than 4 out of 5 divorced women with school-age children. These figures are essential in studying the national pattern of labor force participation, but they do not give a clear indication of the interaction between labor force activity and childbearing. In recent years there has been a tendency for employment and childbearing to become more intermingled in the lives of women. Further insight into the concomitance of such activities comes from analy-

ses of data (Tables 23 and 24) from Cycle I of the National Survey of Family Growth. This survey was conducted by the National Center for Health Statistics, and it yielded data based on interviews with a national sample of women aged 15 to 44 years in 1973.

For the three cohorts of women first married in 1955–59, 1960–64, and 1965–69, the upper panel of Table 23 shows the percent who worked between marriage and first birth, while the lower panel shows the percent who worked between first and second births. As the figures for all women demonstrate, each successive cohort has had a larger proportion who worked during these two periods of family formation. In the latest cohort (1965–69), 4 out of 5 worked between marriage and first birth, and over half worked between first and second births. White women had a little greater tendency than Black women to work between marriage and first birth, but the opposite was the case for the percent who worked between first and second births. Some caution must be exercised in interpreting these statistics, because differences between race groups could be related to other uncontrolled variables, such as education or employment experience. In particular, the proportion of women working between marriage and first birth increased considerably with educational attainment at marriage. However, there was no clear pattern across cohorts in the relation between education at marriage and the proportion who worked between first and second births.

Table 24 provides a more detailed analysis of the relationship between employment and childbearing. The data in this analysis focus on American women 15 to 44 years old in 1973 who had their latest pregnancy (ending in a live birth) in the period 1970–73. The percentages in the first column of Table 24 indicate that a sizable proportion of women worked during their latest pregnancies, although the percent who did so declined with parity (number of children born). Moreover, a higher proportion (50 percent) of Black women worked during their pregnancies in 1970–73 than was the case for White (42 percent) or Hispanic (37 percent) women.

The second column of Table 24 gives the results of a statistical analysis, in which the percent who worked during their latest pregnancy was adjusted by controlling for selected variables, including religious denomination, religious participation, education, husband's income, age at birth of latest child, occupation, region and place of residence, year of latest birth, and either race or parity. The results indicate that race differentials remained after adjusting for the effects of these other variables, although the adjusted percents were somewhat greater than the unadjusted for Hispanic women and women of other races. By parity, the adjusted and unadjusted percents are essentially the same, indicating a significant effect associated with parity beyond the effects of the other variables.

The third column of Table 24 shows the percent of women employed during their latest pregnancy in the period 1970–73, who returned to work by 1973 following the latest birth. Black women had a greater tendency to return to work than did White and Hispanic women; after adjusting for other selected variables, White women retained a lower rate of return to work (60 percent), while the rates for Hispanic and Black women became not significantly different (69 percent and 68 percent, respectively). Data by parity indicate that the rate of return to work is lower after first births than after higher order births. In short, women in their second or higher order pregnancies are less likely than lower parity women to work during pregnancy, but if they do they are more likely to return to work after pregnancy.

CHILD-CARE ARRANGEMENTS

The statistics presented in previous parts of this section indicate that large and increasing proportions of American women with children participate in the civilian labor force, regardless of whether they maintain their own household with no spouse present or are married with spouse present. For many of these women, especially those with preschool-age children, arrangements for child care are of special concern. Table 25 presents information on the trend in child care arrangements for children under 6 years according to the employment status of the mother. For those preschool children whose mother is employed full time, the proportion who received care in their own home has declined over time, from 57 percent in 1958 to 29 percent in 1977. There has been a significant increase in the proportion cared for in group care centers, but by 1977 this arrangement accounted for just 15 percent of the children. A sizable portion of the difference has been taken up by growth in the proportion cared for in another home, especially by a nonrelative.

Among those children whose mother worked part time, a fairly large proportion received care in their own home, especially by their father. A comparatively large proportion of children whose mother worked part time were cared for by the mother

while she was working, although this percentage declined considerably between 1965 and 1977; meanwhile, the proportion cared for in another home increased.

SUMMARY

Information on recent changes in marriage, divorce, and family structure provided the background for a discussion of the economic condition of the family and the employment status of women. Incorporated in the discussion were several special topics, including child support payments, noncash benefits to households (food stamps, medicaid, and public or other subsidized housing), childbearing during and after pregnancy, and child care arrangements.

The following highlights summarize this discussion:

During the mid-1970's, the fertility of American women was at a rate that would result in about 1.8 children by the end of their childbearing years, a level approximately one-half that recorded during the peak of the baby boom in the 1950's.

Marriage rates declined in the 1970's to the lowest level since 1940, so that by 1981 about 1 out of 5 women aged 25 to 29 years was still never married.

Births out-of-wedlock rose from 400,000 in 1970 to 600,000 in 1979. Among all white children born in 1979, 9 percent were born to unmarried mothers, compared with 55 percent of black children born out-of-wedlock in the same year.

Divorce is at record high levels, and if current rates persist almost half of all marriages would end in divorce.

Single-parent families increased by more than three-fourths during the 1970's, while married-couple families with our children present actually declined.

Median family income increased by 7 percent to $21,020 in 1980, but after adjustment for inflation at a rate of 14.2 percent, the 1980 real median family income represented a net decline of 5 percent from 1979, the largest decline recorded since the Second World War.

The poverty rate for families rose significantly in 1980 to 10.3 percent, the highest level since 1967.

Changes in family composition are an important factor that is significantly correlated with measured changes in income and poverty levels.

Among all ever-divorced, currently separated, or never-married women with children under 21 from an absent father, less than half were supposed to have received child support payments in 1978, and less than half of these women actually did receive full payments.

Among households that were below the poverty level in 1980 and were maintained by women with no husband present, 46 percent were receiving food stamps and 46 percent were covered by medicaid in 1980. Accounting for these noncash benefits significantly lowers the estimated number of poor.

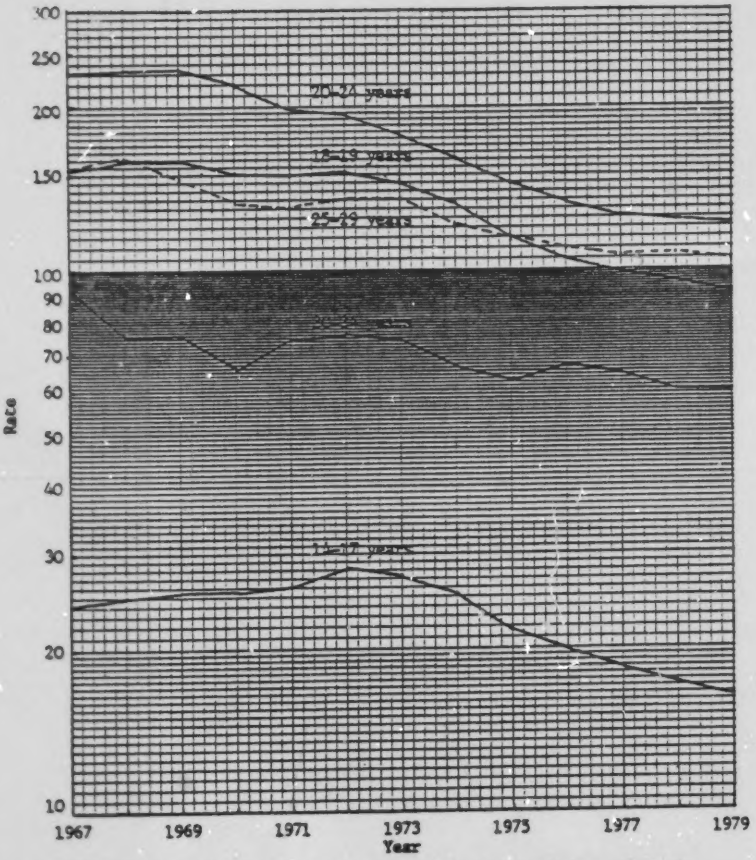
In 1981, more than half of all women of working age were in the civilian labor force; 56 percent of all wives with children under 18 were in the labor force compared with 78 percent of all divorced women with children.

Among women who work full time, arrangements for child care are increasingly being made outside the home, especially in the home of a nonrelative or in group care centers.

In general, this country possesses several excellent statistical programs which continually monitor the status of the American family. There are well developed time series that facilitate comparisons with the past as well as provide the basis for making projections into the future. Of special note are time series from decennial censuses and vital statistics that extend back more than a hundred years and detailed annual survey data developed after the Second World War. As changes have occurred, however, it has become apparent that there now exist areas that should be much more extensively investigated in order to enable the Nation's policy makers to better understand the condition of families. For example, very little data are now available concerning adoption, and the reporting system for abortion should be expanded. In addition, statistics relating to marriage and divorce should be enhanced, in order to determine changes in the likelihood of divorce and remarriage, with their implications for the status of stepfamilies. This country must strive to maintain and improve the full range of statistics that give a continual reading of the social and economic situation in which the Nation's families exist.

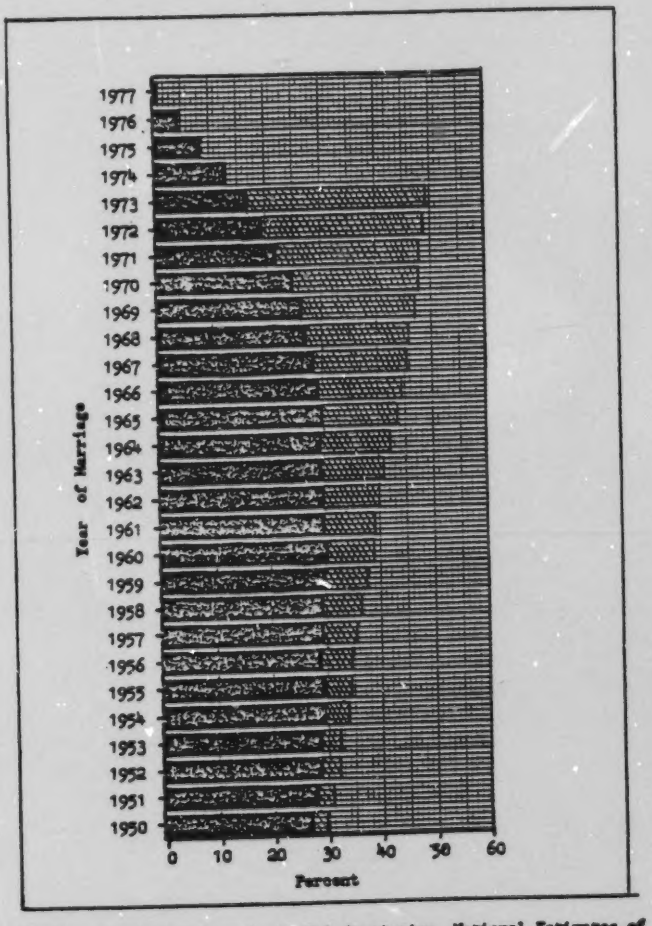
Figure 1. Rate of First Marriage for Never-Married Women 14 to 34 Years Old, by Age: Marriage Registration Area, 1967-79

(Based on sample data. Rates per 1,000 population in specified age group. Plotted on semi-logarithmic scale)



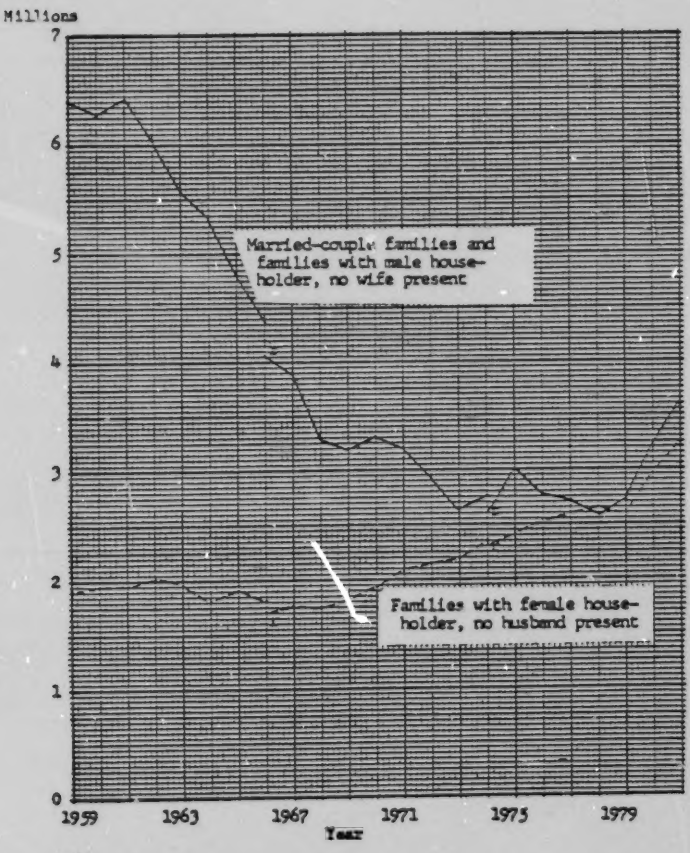
SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics. Advance Report of Final Marriage Statistics. Monthly Vital Statistics Report, various years.

Figure 2. Cumulative percent of cohort marriages ended by divorce through 1977 (solid bar) and percent of cohort marriages projected to end in divorce (cross-hatched bar), by year of marriage.



SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics. National Estimates of Marriage Dissolution and Survivorship, by James A. Weed. Vital and Health Statistics, Series 3, No. 19 (Nov. 1980).

Figure 3. Families Below the Poverty Level, by Type of Family: 1959 to 1980



1/ Based on revised methodology.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127 (August 1981), Table 18, pp. 29-31.

Table 1. Percent Single (Never Married) for Women 15 to 34 Years Old, by Age, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1981 , 1970, and 1960

Subject	1981	1970 [1]	1960 [1]	Ratio 1981/1970	Ratio 1970/1960
ALL RACES					
Total, 15 to 34 years	44.9	44.4	37.6	1.01	1.18
15 to 17 years	97.2	97.3	94.6	1.00	1.03
18 and 19 years	84.7	75.6	67.8	1.12	1.12
20 to 24 years	51.9	35.8	28.4	1.45	1.26
25 to 29 years	21.8	10.5	10.5	2.08	1.00
30 to 34 years	10.4	6.2	6.9	1.68	0.90
WHITE					
Total, 15 to 34 years	42.8	43.3	37.1	0.99	1.17
15 to 17 years	96.9	97.1	94.7	1.00	1.03
18 and 19 years	83.4	75.5	67.6	1.10	1.12
20 to 24 years	48.9	34.6	27.5	1.41	1.26
25 to 29 years	19.6	9.2	9.7	2.13	0.95
30 to 34 years	8.9	5.5	6.8	1.62	0.85
BLACK [2]					
Total, 15 to 34 years	58.6	51.0	41.3	1.15	1.23
15 to 17 years	98.8	98.2	93.9	1.01	1.05
18 and 19 years	92.7	74.1	59.3	1.25	1.07
20 to 24 years	68.4	45.5	35.6	1.50	1.22
25 to 29 years	35.7	18.8	15.8	1.90	1.19
30 to 34 years	20.7	10.8	9.6	1.92	1.13
SPANISH ORIGIN [3]					
Total, 15 to 34 years	41.3	43.1	(NA)	0.96	(NA)
15 to 17 years	95.3	94.3	(NA)	1.01	(NA)
18 and 19 years	74.0	70.8	(NA)	1.05	(NA)
20 to 24 years	42.9	33.4	(NA)	1.28	(NA)
25 to 29 years	18.7	13.7	(NA)	1.36	(NA)
30 to 34 years	10.8	8.4	(NA)	1.29	(NA)

1/ Based on population 14 to 34 years old.
2/ Data are for nonwhite persons in 1960.
3/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCES: Bureau of the Census. Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1981. Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Number 372. Table 1.
Portions of 1970 data from: unpublished Census Bureau tabulations.
1970 data for Spanish origin from: Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of Population, PC(70)-1-D, Table 203.
Bureau of the Census. Marital Status. 1960 Census of Population, PC(2)-4E.

Table 2. Divorced Persons Per 1,000 Married Persons With Spouse Present, by Sex, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1981, 1975, 1970, and 1960

Race and sex	1981	1975	1970	1960	Percent change, 1970 to 1981
ALL RACES					
Total	109	89	47	35	131.9
Male	98	84	35	28	151.4
Female	129	94	60	42	115.0
WHITE					
Total	100	84	44	33	127.3
Male	82	81	32	27	156.3
Female	118	77	56	38	110.7
BLACK					
Total	233	136	83	62	180.7
Male	178	98	62	45	187.1
Female	289	178	104	78	177.9
SPANISH ORIGIN[1]					
Total	110	(NA)	61	(NA)	80.3
Male	73	(NA)	40	(NA)	82.5
Female	146	(NA)	81	(NA)	80.2

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCES: Bureau of the Census. Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1981. Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Number 372. Table 1.
Bureau of the Census. Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1979. Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 349 (Feb. 1980), Table C, p. 3.
1970 data for Spanish origin from: Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of Population, PC(1)-D, Table 203.

Table 3. Families, by Type, Race, Spanish Origin, and Presence of Own Children Under 18 Years Old: 1981 and 1970

Subject	1981		1970		Change, 1970 to 1981	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
ALL RACES						
Total families	60,308	100.0	51,586	100.0	8,723	16.9
With own children under 18	31,227	51.8	28,812	55.9	2,415	8.4
Married-couple family	49,294	81.7	44,755	86.8	4,539	10.1
With own children under 18	24,927	41.3	25,541	49.5	-614	-2.4
Other family, male householder	1,933	3.2	1,239	2.4	694	56.0
With own children under 18	666	1.1	345	0.7	321	93.0
Other family, female householder	9,082	15.1	5,591	10.8	3,491	62.4
With own children under 18	5,634	9.3	2,926	5.7	2,708	92.5
WHITE						
Total families	52,710	100.0	46,261	100.0	6,448	13.9
With own children under 18	26,523	50.3	25,543	55.2	980	3.8
Married-couple family	44,860	85.1	41,049	88.7	3,811	9.3
With own children under 18	22,296	42.3	23,277	50.3	-981	-4.2
Other family, male householder	1,584	3.0	1,048	2.3	536	51.1
With own children under 18	534	1.0	271	0.6	263	97.0
Other family, female householder	6,266	11.9	4,165	9.0	2,101	50.4
With own children under 18	3,694	7.0	1,995	4.3	1,699	85.2
BLACK						
Total families	6,317	100.0	4,887	100.0	1,430	29.3
With own children under 18	3,873	61.3	2,984	61.1	889	29.8
Married-couple family	3,392	53.7	3,323	68.0	69	2.1
With own children under 18	1,938	30.7	1,999	40.9	-61	-3.1
Other family, male householder	291	4.6	182	3.7	109	59.9
With own children under 18	111	1.8	73	1.5	38	(B)
Other family, female householder	2,634	41.7	1,382	28.3	1,252	90.6
With own children under 18	1,823	28.9	912	18.7	911	99.9
SPANISH ORIGIN[1/] [2/]						
Total families	3,236	100.0	2,004	100.0	1,231	61.4
With own children under 18	2,290	69.9	1,407	70.2	883	60.6
Married-couple family	2,365	73.1	1,615	80.6	750	46.4
With own children under 18	1,671	51.7	1,158	57.8	513	44.3
Other family, male householder	164	5.1	82	4.1	82	100.0
With own children under 18	82	1.9	35	1.7	27	(B)
Other family, female householder	708	21.8	307	15.3	399	130.0
With own children under 18	527	16.3	214	10.7	313	146.3

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

2/ Data for Spanish origin in 1970 derived from 1970 census.

SOURCES: Bureau of the Census. Household and Family Characteristics: March 1981. Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Number 371; Table 1. 1970 data for Spanish origin from: Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of Population, PC(2)-4A, Table 6.

Table 4. Families and Median Family Income in 1947, 1950, 1960, and 1970 to 1980, in Current Dollars, by Race and Spanish Origin of Householder

(Families as of March of the following year)

Year	Total		White		Black		Spanish Origin 2/	
	Number	Median Income	Number	Median Income	Number	Median Income	Number	Median Income
	(thous.)	(Dollars)	(thous.)	(Dollars)	(thous.)	(Dollars)	(thous.)	(Dollars)
1980 1/	60,309	21,023	52,710	21,904	6,317	12,674	3,235	14,717
1979 1/	59,550	19,587	52,343	20,439	6,184	11,574	3,029	14,169
1978	57,804	17,640	50,910	18,368	5,906	10,879	2,741	12,566
1977	57,215	16,009	50,530	16,740	5,808	9,563	2,764	11,421
1976	56,710	14,958	50,083	15,537	5,804	9,242	2,583	10,259
1975 r/	56,245	13,719	49,873	14,268	5,586	8,779	2,499	9,551
1974 r/	55,698	12,902	49,440	13,408	5,491	8,006	2,275	9,540
1973	55,053	12,051	48,919	12,595	5,440	7,269	2,365	8,715
1972	54,373	11,116	48,477	11,549	5,265	6,864	2,312	8,183
1971	53,298	10,285	47,641	10,672	5,157	6,440	(NA)	(NA)
1970	52,227	9,867	46,535	10,236	4,928	6,279	(NA)	(NA)
1960	45,539	5,620	41,123	5,835	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1950	39,929	3,319	(NA)	3,445	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1947	37,237	3,031	34,120	3,157	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

r/ Based on revised methodology.

1/ Based on householder concept. Restricted to primary families. 1979 and 1980 figures are adjusted to population controls based on the 1980 census.

2/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127 (August 1981), Tables 1 and 3, pages 7 and 13.

Table 5. Median Family Income in 1947, 1950, 1960, and 1970 to 1980, in Constant (1980) Dollars, by Race and Spanish Origin of Householder

Year	Median Income (Dollars)			
	All Races	White	Black	Spanish Origin 2/
1980 1/	$21,023	$21,904	$12,674	$14,716
1979 1/	22,256	23,203	13,139	16,085
1978	22,280	23,200	13,741	15,871
1977	21,769	22,763	13,004	15,530
1976	21,652	22,490	13,378	14,650
1975	21,004	21,845	13,441	14,623
1974	21,550	22,404	13,378	15,941
1973	22,346	23,354	13,479	16,180
1972	21,895	22,748	13,520	16,118
197	20,928	21,714	13,103	(NA)
1970	20,839	21,722	13,325	(NA)
1960	15,637	16,235	(NA)	(NA)
1950	11,361	11,792	(NA)	(NA)
1947	11,182	11,646	(NA)	(NA)

E/ Based on revised methodology.

1/ Based on householder concept. Restricted to primary families. 1979 and 1980 figures are adjusted to population controls based on the 1980 census.

2/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127 (August 1981), Table 4, p. 14.

Table 8. Number of Families and Median Income, by Work Status of Householder, Type of Family, Race and Spanish Origin of Householder: 1980

(Families as of March 1981)

Subject	All families		Families with householders working year round full ti	
	Number (thous.)	Median Income (Dollars)	Number (thous.)	Median Income (Dollars)
ALL RACES				
All families	60,309	21,023	35,013	26,384
Married-couple families	49,294	23,141	30,729	27,567
Wife in paid labor force	24,752	26,879	17,817	29,827
Wife not in paid labor force	24,542	18,972	12,913	25,054
Male householder, no wife present	1,933	17,519	1,038	22,650
Female householder, no husband present	9,082	10,408	3,245	15,947
WHITE				
All families	52,710	21,904	31,468	26,865
Married-couple families	44,880	23,501	28,261	27,795
Wife in paid labor force	22,138	27,238	16,343	29,842
Wife not in paid labor force	22,722	19,430	12,117	25,287
Male householder, no wife present	1,584	18,731	855	23,641
Female householder, no husband present	6,266	11,908	2,352	16,988
BLACK				
All families	6,317	12,674	2,799	20,037
Married-couple families	3,392	18,593	1,825	24,059
Wife in paid labor force	2,022	22,795	1,256	26,432
Wife not in paid labor force	1,370	12,419	569	18,799
Male householder, no wife present	291	12,557	150	17,425
Female householder, no husband present	2,634	7,425	824	13,214
SPANISH ORIGIN[1/]				
All families	3,238	14,717	1,726	20,022
Married-couple families	2,365	17,361	1,456	21,045
Wife in paid labor force	1,092	21,649	735	24,106
Wife not in paid labor force	1,273	14,050	721	17,802
Male householder, no wife present	184	13,302	93	17,689
Female householder, no husband present	708	7,031	177	13,337

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127 (August 1981), Tables 1 and 2, pp. 7-12.

Table 7. Families Below the Poverty Level, by Type of Family, Race and Spanish Origin: 1980, 1973, 1967, and 1959
(Numbers in thousands. Families as of March of the following year.)

Race and family type	1980 1/		1973		1967		1959	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
ALL RACES								
Total families	6,217	100.0	4,828	100.0	5,667	100.0	8,320	100.0
Families with female householder, no husband present	2,972	47.8	2,193	45.4	1,774	31.3	1,915	23.0
All other families	3,245	52.2	2,635	54.6	3,893	68.7	6,404	77.0
WHITE								
Total families	4,195	100.0	3,219	100.0	4,056	100.0	6,185	100.0
Families with female householder, no husband present	1,609	38.4	1,190	37.0	1,037	25.6	1,233	19.9
All other families	2,586	61.6	2,029	63.0	3,019	74.4	4,952	80.1
BLACK								
Total families	1,826	100.0	1,527	100.0	1,555	100.0	1,880	100.0
Families with female householder, no husband present	1,301	71.2	974	63.8	716	46.0	551	29.6
All other families	526	28.8	553	36.2	839	54.0	1,309	70.4
SPANISH ORIGIN 2/								
Total families	751	100.0	488	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Families with female householder, no husband present	362	48.2	211	43.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
All other families	389	51.8	256	54.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

1/ Based on householder concept. Limited to primary families. Based on 1980 census population controls.

2/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

111

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127 (August 1981), Table 16, pp. 29-31.

Table 8. Poverty Rate for Families, by Type of Family, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1959 to 1981

Year	All families				Families with female householder, no husband present				All other families			
	All races	White	Black	Spanish origin 1/	All races	White	Black	Spanish origin 1/	All races	White	Black	Spanish origin 1/
1981.....	11.2	8.8	30.8	24.0	34.6	27.4	52.9	53.2	7.0	6.3	15.6	15.4
1980.....	10.3	8.0	28.9	23.2	32.7	25.7	49.4	51.3	6.3	5.6	14.3	15.4
1979r/.....	9.2	6.9	27.8	20.3	30.4	22.3	49.4	49.2	5.5	4.8	13.2	13.0
1978.....	9.1	6.9	27.5	20.4	31.4	23.5	50.6	53.1	5.3	4.7	11.8	12.4
1977.....	9.3	7.0	28.2	21.4	31.7	24.0	51.0	53.6	5.5	4.8	13.5	13.2
1976.....	9.4	7.1	27.9	23.1	33.0	25.2	52.2	53.1	5.6	4.9	13.5	15.6
1975.....	9.7	7.7	27.1	25.1	32.5	25.9	50.1	53.6	6.2	5.5	14.2	17.6
1974r/.....	8.8	6.8	26.9	21.2	32.1	24.8	52.2	49.6	5.4	4.7	13.2	14.7
1974.....	9.2	7.0	27.8	21.3	32.5	24.9	52.8	49.6	5.7	4.9	14.2	14.7
1973.....	8.8	6.8	28.1	19.8	32.2	24.5	52.7	51.4	5.5	4.6	15.4	13.1
1972.....	9.3	7.1	29.0	(NA)	32.7	24.3	53.3	(NA)	6.1	5.3	16.2	(NA)
1971.....	10.0	7.9	28.8	(NA)	33.9	26.5	53.5	(NA)	6.8	5.9	17.2	(NA)
1970.....	10.1	8.0	29.5	(NA)	32.5	25.0	54.3	(NA)	7.2	6.2	18.6	(NA)
1969.....	9.7	7.7	27.9	(NA)	32.7	25.7	53.3	(NA)	6.9	6.0	17.9	(NA)
1968.....	10.0	8.0	29.4	(NA)	32.3	25.2	53.2	(NA)	7.3	6.3	19.9	(NA)
1967.....	11.4	9.0	33.9	(NA)	33.3	25.9	56.3	(NA)	8.7	7.4	25.3	(NA)
1966.....	11.8	9.3	35.5	(NA)	33.1	25.7	59.2	(NA)	9.3	7.7	27.6	(NA)
1966.....	12.7	10.2	(NA)	(NA)	35.1	27.8	(NA)	(NA)	10.0	8.4	(NA)	(NA)
1965.....	13.9	11.1	(NA)	(NA)	38.4	31.0	(NA)	(NA)	11.1	9.2	(NA)	(NA)
1964.....	15.0	12.2	(NA)	(NA)	36.4	29.0	(NA)	(NA)	12.5	10.5	(NA)	(NA)
1963.....	15.9	12.8	(NA)	(NA)	40.4	31.4	(NA)	(NA)	13.1	11.0	(NA)	(NA)
1962.....	17.2	13.9	(NA)	(NA)	42.9	33.9	(NA)	(NA)	14.3	12.0	(NA)	(NA)
1961.....	18.1	14.8	(NA)	(NA)	42.1	33.5	(NA)	(NA)	15.4	13.1	(NA)	(NA)
1960.....	18.1	14.9	(NA)	(NA)	42.4	34.0	(NA)	(NA)	15.4	13.0	(NA)	(NA)
1959.....	18.5	15.2	48.1	(NA)	42.6	34.8	65.4	(NA)	15.8	13.3	43.3	(NA)

r/ Based on revised methodology.

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127 (August 1981), Table 18, pp. 29-31. Also, P-60, No. 134 (July 1982).

Table 9. Poverty Status in 1980 of All Families and Families With Female Householder, No Husband Present, by Number of Related Children Under 18 Years, and by Race and Spanish Origin of Householder.

(Number in thousands. Families as of March 1981)

Number of related children under 18 years	All races			White			Black			Spanish Origin 1/		
		Below poverty level			Below poverty level			Below poverty level			Below poverty level	
	Total	Number	Percent of total	Total	Number	Percent of total	Total	Number	Percent of total	Total	Number	Percent of total
ALL FAMILIES Total.....	63,309	6,217	10.3	52,710	4,195	8.0	6,317	1,826	28.9	3,235	751	23.2
No children.....	27,536	1,395	5.1	25,294	1,118	4.4	1,852	243	13.1	826	96	11.6
1 child.....	13,367	1,481	11.1	11,365	988	8.7	1,696	445	26.2	851	180	21.1
2 children.....	11,980	1,557	13.0	10,269	1,059	10.3	1,386	454	32.7	787	190	24.2
3 children.....	4,860	924	19.0	3,951	565	14.3	755	325	43.0	423	115	27.1
4 children.....	1,717	491	28.6	1,274	286	22.4	385	190	49.4	209	92	43.9
5 children.....	849	369	43.5	558	180	32.2	243	170	69.7	139	79	56.9
Mean No. of children for family with children...	1.91	2.36	(X)	1.87	2.28	(X)	2.09	2.49	(X)	2.18	2.65	(X)
FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT Total.....	9,082	2,972	32.7	6,266	1,609	25.7	2,634	1,301	49.4	706	362	51.3
No children.....	2,783	268	9.6	2,271	176	7.8	463	84	18.2	110	24	21.6
1 child.....	2,920	910	31.2	2,014	557	27.7	843	334	39.7	252	103	40.9
2 children.....	2,029	906	44.7	1,351	517	38.3	647	379	58.6	153	118	64.4
3 children.....	816	477	58.3	411	206	50.0	377	253	67.3	87	54	62.1
4 children.....	340	251	73.7	155	109	70.6	177	134	75.8	46	41	(B)
5 children.....	192	160	83.3	64	44	(B)	127	115	91.0	28	23	(B)

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127 (August 1981), Table 21, pp. 34-35.

Table 10. Average Size of Families by Poverty Status, Type of Family, Race and Spanish Origin of Householder: 1980

Type of family	All races		White		Black		Spanish Origin[1]	
	All families	Below poverty level	All families	Below poverty level	All families	Below poverty level	All families	Below poverty level
All families.....	3.27	3.64	3.20	3.48	3.65	3.94	3.88	4.19
Families with female householder, no husband present...	3.04	3.41	2.82	3.07	3.55	3.83	3.43	3.64

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127 (August 1981), Table 21, pp. 34-35.

Table 11. Median Income in 1970 and 1980 for Families and Persons, by Race and Selected Characteristics

(Income in 1980 dollars)

Selected characteristics	White			Black			Ratio: Black to White		
	1980			1980			1980		
	Published	Adjusted	1970	Published	Adjusted	1970	Published	Adjusted	1970
Families									
All families	$21,904	$22,438	$21,722	$12,674	$14,830	$13,325	.58	.66	.61
Type of Residence									
Inside metropolitan areas	23,815	24,517	23,774	13,726	16,157	15,152	.58	.66	.64
1,000,000 or more	25,297	25,965	25,236	14,686	16,977	16,366	.58	.65	.65
Inside central cities	21,167	21,891	22,770	13,650	15,842	15,759	.64	.72	.69
Outside central cities	26,791	27,358	26,656	18,246	20,802	19,188	.68	.76	.72
Under 1,000,000	22,222	22,880	22,204	11,999	14,704	13,609	.54	.64	.61
Outside metropolitan areas	18,794	19,290	18,379	10,257	11,493	9,331	.55	.60	.51
Region									
Northeast	22,602	23,429	23,214	13,189	14,761	14,497	.58	.63	.71
North Central	22,314	22,826	22,299	14,044	16,827	16,378	.63	.74	.73
South	20,631	21,081	19,608	11,629	13,426	11,090	.56	.64	.57
West	22,615	23,327	22,032	17,133	19,733	16,979	.76	.85	.77
Type of Family									
Husband-wife families	23,301	23,663	22,755	18,593	19,142	16,587	.79	.81	.73
Wife in paid labor force	27,238	27,211	26,617	22,795	23,218	20,629	.84	.85	.78
Wife not in paid labor force	19,430	19,874	20,226	12,419	12,993	12,650	.64	.65	.63
Male householder, no wife present	18,731	19,148	20,211	12,537	11,467	14,327	.67	.60	.71
Female householder, no husband present	11,908	12,414	12,211	7,425	7,454	7,599	.62	.60	.62
Persons									
Male	13,328	13,692	14,878	8,009	8,683	8,822	.60	.63	.59
Female	4,967	4,519	4,809	4,580	4,537	4,378	.93	1.01	.91

Table 12. Families Below the Poverty Level in 1970 and 1980

(Numbers in thousands. Families as of March of the following year)

Selected characteristics	1980						1970	
	Below poverty level			Poverty rate			Below poverty level	Poverty rate
	Published	Adjusted	Difference	Published	Adjusted	Difference		
ALL FAMILIES								
Total	6,217	4,200	-2,017	10.3	7.3	-3.0	5,260	10.1
Male householder	3,099	2,459	-640	6.3	4.8	-1.5	3,309	7.2
Female householder	3,118	1,741	-1,377	28.6	24.9	-3.7	1,951	32.5
WHITE FAMILIES								
Total	4,195	3,071	-1,124	8.0	5.9	-2.1	3,708	8.0
Male householder	2,497	2,056	-441	5.6	4.4	-1.2	2,606	6.2
Female householder	1,698	1,015	-683	21.8	19.3	-2.5	1,102	25.0
BLACK FAMILIES								
Total	1,826	1,069	-757	28.9	19.9	-1.0	1,481	29.5
Male householder	474	360	-114	13.8	9.7	-4.1	648	18.6
Female householder	1,353	710	-643	46.8	42.2	-4.6	834	54.3

Table 13. Child Support Payments Awarded and Received for Women With Children Present, by Poverty Status, Race and Spanish Origin: 1978
(Women with children under 21 years of age from an absent father as of Spring 1979. Numbers in thousands)

Race and recipiency status of women	Child support payments			
	All women		Women with income below poverty level in 1978	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
ALL RACES				
Total	7,094	100.0	1,973	100.0
Awarded	4,196	59.1	752	38.1
Supposed to receive payments in 1978	3,424	48.3	596	30.2
Not supposed to receive payments in 1978	772	10.9	156	7.9
Not awarded	2,898	40.9	1,221	61.9
Supposed to receive payments in 1978	3,424	100.0	596	100.0
Actually received payments	2,455	71.6	351	58.9
Received full payments	1,675	48.9	247	41.4
Received partial payments	777	22.7	104	17.5
Did not receive payments	969	28.4	245	41.1
WHITE				
Total	5,085	100.0	1,007	100.0
Awarded	3,596	70.7	535	53.1
Supposed to receive payments in 1978	2,973	58.5	422	41.9
Not supposed to receive payments in 1978	623	12.3	113	11.2
Not awarded	1,489	29.3	471	46.8
Supposed to receive payments in 1978	2,973	100.0	422	100.0
Actually received payments	2,168	72.9	248	58.3
Did not receive payments	805	27.1	176	41.7
BLACK				
Total	1,896	100.0	944	100.0
Awarded	546	28.8	211	22.4
Supposed to receive payments in 1978	413	21.8	171	18.1
Not supposed to receive payments in 1978	133	7.0	40	4.2
Not awarded	1,348	71.1	734	77.8
Supposed to receive payments in 1978	413	100.0	171	100.0
Actually received payments	260	63.0	105	61.4
Did not receive payments	154	37.3	66	38.6

able 13. Child Support Payments Awarded and Received, for Women With Children Present, by Poverty Status, Race and Spanish Origin: 1978--(Con.)
(Women with children under 21 years of age from an absent father as of Spring 1979. Numbers in thousands)

ace and recipiency tatus of women	Child support payments			
	All women		Women with income below poverty level in 1978	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
SPANISH ORIGIN[1]				
Total	521	100.0	213	100.0
warded	228	43.8	60	28.2
Supposed to receive payments in 1978	191	36.7	49	23.0
Not supposed to receive payments in 1978	37	7.1	11	5.2
ot awarded	292	56.0	153	71.8
Supposed to receive payments in 1978	191	100.0	49	100.0
Actually received payments	125	65.4	29	(B)
Did not receive payments	66	34.6	20	(B)

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Child Support and Alimony: 1978 (Advance Report). Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 106 (September 1980), Tables 1 and 2, pp. 6-7.

Table 14. Child Support Payments Awarded and Received—Mean Income for Women With Children Present, by Poverty Status, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1978
(Women with children under 21 years of age from an absent father as of Spring 1979. Numbers in thousands)

Recipiency status of women	All races	White	Black	Spanish origin[1]
ALL WOMEN				
Awarded payments in 1978:				
Received payments in 1978:				
Mean income from child support (Dollars)....	$1,799	$1,861	$1,294	$1,318
Mean total money income (Dollars).....	8,844	9,183	7,271	6,922
Did not receive payments in 1978:				
Mean total money income (Dollars).....	6,216	6,140	6,872	(B)
Not awarded payments:				
Mean total money income (Dollars).....	4,841	5,154	4,444	4,555
WOMEN WITH INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL IN 1978				
Awarded payments in 1978:				
Received payments in 1978:				
Mean income from child support (Dollars)....	1,219	1,294	1,044	(B)
Mean total money income (Dollars).....	3,536	3,808	3,368	(B)
Did not receive payments in 1978:				
Mean total money income (Dollars).....	3,003	2,785	(B)	(B)
Not awarded payments:				
Mean total money income (Dollars).....	2,742	2,581	2,854	3,141

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Child Support and Alimony: 1978 (Advance Report). Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 106 (September 1980), Table 1, p. 6.

Table 15. Food Stamp Recipiency and Medicaid Coverage of Households by Income, Poverty Status, Race and Spanish Origin of Householder: 1980

(Numbers in thousands. Households as of March 1981)

Selected characteristics	Total		Below poverty level		Poverty rate	Median income (dollars)
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
ALL HOUSEHOLDS						
Total, all races	82,358	100.0	10,968	100.0	13.3	$17,710
White	71,872	87.3	7,728	71.4	10.9	18,683
Black	8,847	10.7	2,864	26.1	32.4	10,763
Spanish origin 1/	3,906	4.7	963	8.7	24.5	13,650
Households with —						
Female family householder, no husband present	9,082	11.0	2,972	27.1	32.7	10,830
Children under 18 years old present	34,329	41.7	4,928	44.9	14.4	21,443
HOUSEHOLDS RECEIVING FOOD STAMPS						
Total, all races	6,789	100.0	4,433	100.0	65.5	5,543
White	4,238	62.6	2,831	59.4	62.1	5,807
Black	2,376	35.1	1,701	38.4	71.6	5,020
Spanish origin 1/	732	10.8	497	11.2	67.9	6,136
Households with —						
Female family householder, no husband present	2,755	40.7	2,048	46.2	74.3	5,115
Children under 18 years old present	4,501	66.5	2,926	66.0	65.0	6,706
HOUSEHOLDS COVERED BY MEDICAID						
Total, all races	8,287	100.0	4,421	100.0	53.3	8,097
White	5,581	67.1	2,656	60.1	47.8	8,499
Black	2,495	30.1	1,849	37.3	66.1	5,198
Spanish origin 1/	784	9.1	458	10.4	60.7	6,255
Households with —						
Female family householder, no husband present	3,035	36.7	2,021	45.7	66.6	5,845
Children under 18 years old present	4,349	52.5	2,574	58.2	59.2	7,118

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Characteristics of Households Receiving Noncash Benefits: 1980 (Advance data from March 1981 C.P.S.) Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 128 (October 1981), Table 1, pp. 8-9.

Table 16. Public or Other Subsidized Housing Residence of Households, by Income and Poverty Status, Race and Spanish Origin of Householder: 1980

(Numbers in thousands. Households as of March 1981)

Selected Characteristics	Total		Below poverty level		Poverty rate	Median income (Dollars)
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
ALL RENTER-OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS						
Total, all races	26,487	100.0	6,063	100.0	22.9	$12,043
White	21,135	79.8	3,934	64.9	18.6	12,922
Black	4,618	17.4	1,941	32.0	42.0	8,227
Spanish origin[1]	2,085	7.9	685	11.3	32.9	10,486
Households with —						
Female family householder, no husband present	4,529	17.1	2,112	34.8	46.6	7,820
Children under 19 years old present	10,058	37.9	3,126	51.6	31.1	12,485
HOUSEHOLDS RESIDING IN PUBLICLY OWNED OR OTHER SUBSIDIZED HOUSING						
Total, all races	2,777	100.0	1,430	100.0	51.5	5,053
White	1,612	58.0	745	52.1	46.2	4,998
Black	1,075	38.7	643	45.0	59.8	5,444
Spanish origin[1]	223	8.0	121	8.5	54.3	6,752
Households with —						
Female family householder, no husband present	1,029	37.1	674	47.1	65.5	5,481
Children under 19 years old present	1,297	46.7	787	55.0	60.7	6,357

1/ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Characteristics of Households Receiving Noncash Benefits: 1980, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 128 (October 1981), Table 1, pp. 6-9.

Table 17. Major In-Kind Transfer Benefits: 1965-80

(Current and constant (1965) dollar market value of benefits in billions)

Type of benefit	1965	1970	1975	1980
A. MAJOR IN-KIND TRANSFERS (MEANS-TESTED and NONMEANS-TESTED[1]				
Total food, housing, and medical care.....	$ 2.166	$15.014	$36.685	$72.527
In constant 1965 dollars.....	2.166	12.200	21.505	27.771
Food:				
Total.....	.448	1.656	6.412	12.580
Food stamps.....	.033	1.119	4.386	9.247
School lunch.....	.415	.537	2.026	3.333
Housing:				
Public housing[2].....	.351	1.640	2.263	5.402
Medical Care:				
Total.....	1.367	11.718	28.010	54.545
Medicaid.....	1.367[3]	5.606	14.555	26.154
Medicare.....	(NA)	6.112	13.455	28.391
B. MAJOR MEANS-TESTED TRANSFER BENEFITS ONLY				
Total means-tested benefits.....	5.979	17.492	38.509	61.299
In constant 1965 dollars.....	5.979	14.214	22.574	23.471
Cash public assistance.....	4.025	8.864	16.312	18.863
In-kind benefits[4].....	1.954	8.628	22.197	42.436
Percent of total means-tested benefits which are:				
In-Kind.....	32.7	49.3	57.5	69.2
Medicaid alone.....	22.9	32.0	37.8	42.7

NA Not available.

[1]Means-tested income transfer programs are those which benefit only families with low enough incomes and resources (assets) to qualify. Nonmeans-tested benefits have no income or resource test.

[2]"Public housing" includes public and subsidized housing for low income families under various public programs including: Low Rent Public Housing, and Sections 8, 235, 236, 101, and 202b of the 1937 Housing Act.

[3]Prior to the inception of Medicaid, various public assistance programs provided medical assistance benefits to low income persons. The 1965 figure is for vendor payments under these programs. See: Social Security Bulletin, June 1981.

[4]Excludes "paid" School Lunch benefits and Medicare.

Table 18. All Persons: Comparison of the Number of Poor and Poverty Rates Using Alternative Income Concepts and Valuation Techniques: 1979

(Numbers in thousands)

Income concept	Valuation technique		
	Market value approach	Recipient or cash equivalent value approach	Poverty budget share value approach
Money income alone:			
Number of poor	23,623	23,623	23,623
Poverty rate	11.1	11.1	11.1
Money income plus food and housing:			
Number of poor	19,933	20,218	20,743
Poverty rate	9.4	9.5	9.8
Percent reduction[1]	-15.6	-14.4	-12.2
Money income plus food, housing, and medical care (excluding institutional care expenditures):			
Number of poor	14,023	18,393	18,866
Poverty rate	6.6	8.7	8.9
Percent reduction[1]	-40.6	-22.1	-20.1
Money income plus food, housing, and medical care (including institutional care expenditures):			
Number of poor	13,634	17,318	18,866
Poverty rate	6.4	8.2	8.9
Percent reduction[1]	-42.3	-26.7	-20.1

[1]Percent reduction in the number of poor from the current poverty estimate based on money income alone.

Table 19. Female Householders, No Husband Present: Reductions in Poverty Rates Using Alternative Valuation Techniques and Income Concepts: 1979

Income concept	Market value approach	Recipient value - cash equivalent approach	Poverty budget share approach
BELOW POVERTY LEVEL			
Money income alone:			
Poverty rate	34.8	34.8	34.8
Money income plus food and housing:			
Poverty rate	27.5	28.1	29.1
Percent reduction[1]	-20.9	-19.2	-16.3
Money income plus food, housing, and medical care (excluding institutional care expenditures):			
Poverty rate	18.1	26.5	26.5
Percent reduction[1]	-47.9	-23.8	-23.8
Money income plus food, housing, and medical care (including institutional care expenditures):			
Poverty rate	17.6	24.4	26.5
Percent reduction[1]	-49.4	-29.9	-23.8
BELOW 125 PERCENT OF POVERTY LEVEL			
Money income alone:			
Poverty rate	43.1	43.1	43.1
Money income plus food and housing:			
Poverty rate	39.2	39.6	40.0
Percent reduction[1]	- 9.0	- 7.9	- 7.0
Money income plus food, housing, and medical care (excluding institutional care expenditures):			
Poverty rate	31.1	37.3	38.6
Percent reduction[1]	-27.8	-13.4	-10.4
Money income plus food, housing, and medical care (including institutional care expenditures):			
Poverty rate	30.4	36.2	38.6
Percent reduction[1]	-29.9	-15.9	-10.4

[1]Percent reduction in the number of poor from the current poverty estimate based on money income alone.

Table 20. Women in the Civilian Labor Force, Selected Years, 1900-1981

Year	Women in the labor force (thousands)	Women in labor force as a percent of:	
		Total labor force	All women of working age
1981 1/.....	45,514	43.1	52.0
1980 1/.....	44,934	42.6	51.1
1979.....	42,971	42.3	50.7
1978.....	42,002	41.0	50.1
1977.....	40,087	40.3	48.5
1976.....	38,520	39.7	47.4
1975.....	37,087	39.1	46.4
1974.....	35,892	38.5	45.7
1973.....	34,561	38.0	44.7
1972.....	33,320	37.4	43.9
1971.....	32,132	37.0	43.4
1970.....	31,560	36.7	43.4
1965.....	28,232	34.0	38.3
1960.....	23,272	32.3	37.8
1955.....	20,584	30.2	36.7
1950.....	18,412	28.8	33.9
1945.....	19,304	29.2	38.8
1940.....	13,007	24.6	25.8
1930.....	10,396	21.9	23.6
1920.....	8,229	20.4	22.7
1910.....	6,076	21.2	23.4
1900.....	4,999	18.1	20.0

1/ Based on 1980 census population controls.

NOTE: Labor force data for 1900 to 1930 refer to gainfully employed workers. For 1900 to 1945, data are for persons 14 years of age and over; beginning in 1950, data are for persons 16 years of age and over.

SOURCES: Bureau of Labor Statistics. Women in the Labor Force: Some New Data Series. Report 575 (1979), Table 1, p. 1.
Bureau of Labor Statistics. Marital and Family Characteristics of the Labor Force, March 1979, by Beverly Johnson. Special Labor Force Report 237 (January 1981), tables 3 and 4, p. 50.
Bureau of Labor Statistics. Marital and Family Characteristics of Workers, March 1980. Press Release 80-767 (December 9, 1980), Tables 3 and 4.
Bureau of Labor Statistics. Half of Nation's Children Have Working Mothers. Press Release 81-522 (November 13, 1981), Table 7.

Table 21. Number of Earners in Families in Previous Years, Relationship, and Median Family Income in 1980, by Type of Family: 1981 and 1970

Type of family and number of earners	1970		1981		Median family income in 1980 (Dollars)
	Number (thous.)	Percent	Number (thous.)	Percent	
Total families	51,237	...	60, 702	...	$21,003
Married-couple families, total	44,436	100.0	49,316	100.0	23,263
No earners	3,022	6.8	5,903	12.0	10,187
1 earner	16,268	36.6	13,900	28.2	19,368
Husband only	15,133	34.1	11,621	23.6	20,472
Wife only	797	1.8	1,707	3.5	13,612
Other relative only	339	0.8	573	1.2	16,148
2 or more earners	25,145	56.6	29,513	59.8	28,025
Husband and wife	20,327	45.7	25,557	51.8	27,745
Husband and other, not wife	4,517	10.2	3,380	6.9	31,031
Husband non-earner	302	0.7	576	1.2	22,684
Other families, total	6,801	...	11,385	...	...
Maintained by women 1/	5,573	100.0	9,416	100.0	10,233
No earners	1,194	21.4	2,216	23.5	4,494
1 earner	2,468	44.2	4,612	49.0	10,350
2 or more earners	1,911	34.3	2,589	27.5	18,673
Maintained by men 1/	1,239	100.0	1,969	100.0	17,743
No earners	121	9.7	244	12.4	7,790
1 earner	520	41.9	891	45.3	15,577
2 or more earners	598	48.2	835	42.4	23,785

1/ Divorced, separated, widowed, or never-married persons.

SOURCES: Bureau of Labor Statistics. Marital and Family Characteristics of the Labor Force, March 1979, by Beverly Johnson. Special Labor Force Report No. 237 (January 1981), Table 1, p. 49. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Half of Nation's Children Have Working Mothers. Press Release 81-522 (November 15, 1981), Table 3.

Table 22. Labor Force Participation Rate of Women 16 Years and Over, by Marital Status, Presence and Age of Own Children, and Race and Spanish Origin: 1981

Subject	Never-married	All ever-married women					
		Total	Married, spouse present	All other ever-married			
				Total	Married, spouse absent	Widowed	Divorced
ALL RACES							
Total	62.3	49.3	51.0	48.1	60.8	22.3	76.0
No own children under 18 years	62.9	42.4	46.3	38.1	59.9	19.9	72.4
With own children under 18 years	52.3	58.3	55.7	70.5	61.7	60.3	78.1
With own children 6 to 17 years, none younger	64.6	65.5	62.5	76.5	70.0	63.0	83.4
With own children under 6 years	45.7	49.1	47.8	57.7	51.0	42.2	65.4
WHITE							
Total	65.0	48.6	50.3	44.0	61.8	21.7	76.0
No own children under 18 years	65.4	42.1	45.9	35.5	61.8	19.6	73.4
With own children under 18 years	49.0	57.3	54.7	72.4	61.8	61.2	79.4
With own children 6 to 17 years, none younger	63.1	64.9	61.9	78.5	70.6	64.8	84.6
With own children under 6 years	42.3	47.7	46.3	56.9	51.0	(B)	66.5
BLACK							
Total	50.3	54.6	59.5	49.8	59.9	26.6	68.9
No own children under 18 years	49.3	44.0	50.4	39.6	57.1	21.6	65.3
With own children under 18 years	54.4	65.9	68.4	65.3	61.9	30.6	71.8
With own children 6 to 17 years, none younger	65.4	69.5	69.2	71.0	69.9	39.9	76.6
With own children under 6 years	47.8	61.0	64.3	54.9	51.0	(B)	61.2
SPANISH ORIGIN[1]							
Total	51.4	46.2	47.0	44.3	39.9	22.3	65.8
No own children under 18 years	53.9	43.1	46.8	38.1	44.7	18.2	63.1
With own children under 18 years	31.2	48.0	47.3	50.6	37.5	(B)	67.1
With own children 6 to 17 years, none younger	(B)	54.4	52.8	58.3	49.7	(B)	69.4
With own children under 6 years	(B)	42.7	43.4	39.4	28.4	(B)	(B)

[1] Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics. Half of Nation's Children Have Working Mothers. Press Release No. USDL 81-622, (November, 15, 1981), Table 2.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. Unpublished data, March 1981 Current Population Survey.

Table 23. Women Who Worked Between Marriage and First Birth, and Women Who Worked Between First and Second Births, as Percent of All Ever-Married Women 15-44 Years of Age, by Year of First Marriage, Education at Marriage, and Race: 1973

Subject	Year of first marriage		
	1965-1969	1960-1964	1955-1959
PERCENT WHO WORKED BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND FIRST BIRTH[1]			
All women	80	69	66
Race:			
White	81	70	67
Black	73	63	51
Education at marriage:			
Less than 12 years	52	45	46
12 years	85	75	75
More than 12 years	91	83	76
PERCENT WHO WORKED BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND BIRTHS[2]			
All women	51	43	37
Race:			
White	50	43	35
Black	62	49	54
Education at marriage:			
Less than 12 years	51	43	35
12 years	57	42	36
More than 12 years	47	47	43

1/ Base includes only ever-married women 15-44 years of age in 1973, who have had a birth (or intend a birth), were first married 1955-69, and had no premarital pregnancy.

2/ Base includes only ever-married women 15-44 years of age in 1973, who have had 2 births (or 1 birth and intend another) and were first married in 1955-67.

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics. Patterns of Employment Before and After Childbirth, by L. L. Bumpass and J. A. Sweet. Vital and Health Statistics, Series 23, No. 4 (January 1980), Table 3, p. 18, and Table 5, p. 20.

Table 24. Percent of Ever-Married Women 15–44 Years of Age With 1 or More Children Ever Born Who Worked During the Latest Pregnancy in 1970–73, and Percent of Ever-Married Women 15–44 Years of Age With 1 or More Children Ever Born Employed During the Latest Pregnancy in 1970–73 Who Returned to Work Since the Last Birth, by Parity, Race and Spanish Origin: 1973

Race and parity	Women who worked during the latest pregnancy[1]		Women who returned to work since the latest pregnancy[1]	
	Percent	Adjusted percent[2]	Percent	Adjusted percent[3]
RACE AND ETHNICITY				
White	42	40	59	60
Black	50	53	73	68
Spanish origin[4]	37	48	66	69
Other race or ethnicity	23	32	(B)	(B)
PARITY				
1 live birth	61	63	58	58
2 live births	38	34	65	65
3 live births	29	28	64	62
4 live births or more	27	27	70	68

[1] Includes only pregnancies that ended in a live birth in 1970–73.

[2] Adjusted by Multiple Classification Analysis for religious denomination, religious participation, education, husband's income, age at birth of latest child, occupation, region and place of residence, year of latest birth, and either race or parity.

[3] Adjusted by M.C.A. for variables listed in footnote 2, replacing year of latest birth by additional children expected.

[4] Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics. Patterns of Employment Before and After Childbirth, by L. L. Bumpass and J. A. Sweet. Vital and Health Statistics, Series 23, No. 4 (January 1980), Table 8, p. 23, and Table 12, p. 30.

Table 23. Percent Distribution of Children Under 6 Years Old of Ever-Married Working Women by Type of Child Care Arrangements and Employment Status of Mother: 1958-1977

Type of child care arrangement and employment status of mother	1977[1/]	1965	1958
EMPLOYED FULL TIME			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Care in child's home	28.6	47.2	56.6
by father	10.6	10.3	14.7
by other relative	11.4	18.4	27.7
by nonrelative	6.6	18.5	14.2
Care in another home	47.4	37.3	27.1
by relative	20.8	17.6	14.5
by nonrelative	26.6	19.6	12.7
Group care center	14.6	8.2	4.5
Child cares for self	0.3	0.3	0.6
Mother cares for child while working	8.2	6.7	{11.2}
All other arrangements	0.8	0.4	
EMPLOYED PART TIME			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Care in child's home	42.7	47.0	NA
by father	23.1	22.9	NA
by other relative	11.2	15.6	NA
by nonrelative	8.4	8.6	NA
Care in another home	28.8	17.0	NA
by relative	13.2	9.1	NA
by nonrelative	15.6	7.9	NA
Group care center	9.1	2.7	NA
Child cares for self	0.5	0.9	NA
Mother cares for child while working	18.5	32.3	NA
All other arrangements	0.4	—	NA

NA Not available.

— Rounds to zero.

1/ Data are only for the two youngest children under 5 years old.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census. Trends in Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers, by M. O'Connell, M. A. Lueck, and A. C. Orr. Current Population Reports, P-23, No. 117, Table A.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Congressman Marriott.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Could you clarify one point for me? If it were not for the single heads of households who are not getting child support, what would the overall poverty rate be? If you would exclude that group, how would that change the national poverty level?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Well, what we showed there was that the official poverty rate does not now take account of inkind benefits, and so we have a high rate of poverty based on cash income alone. In 1979 it was 11.1 percent. Had we included the inkind benefits, such as food, housing, and medical care, and valued them at the market value, it would have gone down to 6.4 percent.

If we did not count cash transfer benefits, the poverty rate would be even higher than the official rate. We do include the cash benefits in the official measurement of poverty but we do not count any inkind benefits.

Mr. MARRIOTT. What percent of the poverty rate consists of single parent households?

Mr. CHAPMAN. It is now 48 percent. That rose from 24 percent in 1960.

Chairman MILLER. Excuse me. Is that 48 percent of the households, or 48 percent of all the individuals?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Forty-eight percent of families in poverty.

Chairman MILLER. Of the family unit?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Not taking into account noncash income?

Mr. CHAPMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MARRIOTT. If you take into account noncash income, would that change that number?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Yes, it would go down.

Mr. MARRIOTT. What would it be, do you know?

Mr. WEED. We do not have those figures with us today. We can get them for you.

[The information referred to appears on p. 136, question 1.]

Mr. MARRIOTT. Let me ask you one other question. Do you have any information on—excuse me.

Chairman MILLER. We will continue the hearing through this vote call.

Mr. MARRIOTT. One of the concerns that you said was one of the reasons why we have the high poverty among the single head of households is that those who ought to be providing for the children simply are not—only some 30 percent.

Mr. CHAPMAN. Thirty-five.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Only 35 percent of the people who should be paying child support actually pay child support. Is that correct?

Mr. CHAPMAN. I think the way I put it is that 35 percent of the female-maintained families situation do get child support payments from the father. I cannot turn it around and tell you what proportion of fathers, but 35 percent of female-maintained families are getting child support from the father.

Chairman MILLER. Excuse me, if the gentleman would yield, is that 35 percent of those who are beneath the poverty line or 35 percent of all female heads of households?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Thirty-five percent of——

Mr. GREEN. That is of all female heads of households.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Why is it so low?

Mr. CHAPMAN. That is a good question. I do not know that we have the answer to that.

Mr. GREEN. Well, not all of the women have agreements for which the father is supposed to make payments. But even for many of those who do, they do not get the benefits that they are supposed to get.

Mr. CHAPMAN. A lot of men—and this has been a problem in a number of States—simply do not make the payments. I do not think we have that sociological or legal explanation.

Mr. MARRIOTT. It seems to me that maybe the law is just too lax in that area. Does that appear to be a problem?

Mr. CHAPMAN. In some States, in fact, they have strengthened the law. I believe Michigan is one.

Mr. GREEN. At the Census Bureau we do have reports on child support and alimony that show how these proportions break down by demographic characteristics, so we can make that available to you. The estimates are at a national level, however. The sample is not large enough to break them down by State.

[The information referred to appears on p. 136, question 2.]

Mr. MARRIOTT. I was going to ask that question. Do you have it by State?

Mr. GREEN. No; the current population survey is not large enough to give reliable estimates by State and we cannot really identify the information in the 1980 census because we do not have that type of income broken out separately. But we can at least sketch out a national and regional picture for you, and we can show how the recipiency patterns vary by the different characteristics of women— by race, by number of children present, by when they were divorced, and so on.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Thank you.

Mr. Leland.

Mr. LELAND. Let me ask you, sir. My mother worked full time when I was growing up. She and my father were separated. She was Catholic, so she could not get married, etc., and we left Mobile, Ala., when I was 3 and she went to Houston, Tex., and worked as a short-order cook in a little pharmacy, making hamburgers and milkshakes and things like that.

My mother decided at about the time I was 5 to go back to college. She spent several years in college and, of course, there was no such thing as day care or other facilities for my brother and me, and since she was raising her boys by herself, we used to go to work with her and we went to school with her in the summer.

We were rather fortunate because my mother was rather driven to do better for herself and she eventually became a teacher and she is now an area superintendent in her school district. By her example we were able to make it.

We were very poor as I was growing up but we were very fortunate. There are opportunities, some limited opportunities, for women to work and find better jobs than those my mother could find while rearing two children.

I am trying to figure out basically what can those parents do, those single parents, who are rearing children? What can they do to offer better opportunities for their children?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Well, I do not know if the Census Bureau can tell you that, Congressman, but I will say that there has been a change in the nature of families that have been separated or divorced, whether it is a woman raising her children alone, and that is that they are better off financially than they were in previous generations—your generation and my generation.

And what the statistics tell us is not that people in this situation are worse off, because they are not worse off. You can attribute that to whatever you want—the economy, the programs that have been passed, whatever. By and large, families maintained by women are doing better.

The problem is what shows up in the poverty statistics is that there are so many more of them. We have this irony or paradox, I guess, in our statistics for 1970 and 1980. It is that when you look at family income, it went down. Individual income went up. Family income went down.

But the paradox is that any given category of family did better, that intact families, in particular, did better, but so did families maintained by women. An individual family did better, but when you have this big increase in the category of families maintained by women with no husband present, then that affects the overall poverty picture and it drives the numbers up.

Mr. LELAND. OK. We have got greater numbers, an expanding category, but these women today are better off, you are saying, than they were in my generation as I grew up?

Mr. CHAPMAN. That is right.

Mr. LELAND. But can they evolve out of the impoverished conditions that they live in? My mother did only because she had a mother who was driving her, and she had some, I guess, cultural pressures, if you will, because even though we were poor we were middle-class oriented or aspiring.

Can women get out of the impoverished conditions that they live in today even though they are better off? I think that basically if a person is caught in the catch of poverty, poverty is poverty. I do not know how you measure being better off.

Mr. CHAPMAN. Well, you have an interesting question there and it seems to me that you answered part of it when you talked about motivation and outlook and so forth. As a matter of fact, I came from a very similar kind of conditions in terms of family myself, and the same sort of situation in terms of my mother seeking higher education to pull the family as well as herself more stoutly into the middle class.

And that motivation is important and it still makes a critical difference. But I think at this point I do not know if you are getting beyond my depth, but you are getting beyond my calling as the head of the Census Bureau, because we cannot look into people's minds or hearts or motivations.

But I will tell you that there is something on the other side of the picture that you need to look at, I think that policymakers need to look at, and that is not only how do we provide for women raising children alone, and particularly how do we provide them

with the wherewithal to move out of the poverty situation—by the way, many, many do, a high proportion do—but how do we keep families intact in the first place?

Now there was a study done by Mr. Sehuerle, I believe his name is—S-e-h-u-e-r-l-e—at the American Enterprise Institute, that showed that the Government deduction for dependents was $600 in 1947. It is $1,000 today. And if it had kept pace with inflation by 1980 it would have been $4,400.

So if you want to ask where is the population that is on the brink, where various economic stresses might propel them into a family breakup that might not otherwise happen, it is that lower middle-class group for whom the tax structure does not provide as much as it did a generation earlier in terms of real help in raising children.

Mr. LELAND. So we need to look at the taxing process, possibly reorient it, because people at the top are getting probably more than ever before, tax breaks, and we should look at reorienting or reprioritizing tax advantages at the lower level of the economic spectrum as opposed to the higher levels?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Well, I am not going to get into tax policy. I would just point out to you that that group of people who are in the middle class, and particularly the lower middle class, are impacted by taxation and by other Government policies.

Mr. LELAND. Are you saying comparatively, though, that they are paying more today than they did before, possibly more than the people in the upper brackets?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Well, everybody is, but the fact is that that deduction applies to everybody who has an income, so that while we have programs of support for people in the poverty category with children, the cost of raising children, which I mentioned has gone up steeply in the past number of years, really impacts on everybody above the poverty line. There we do not seem to pay much attention.

Now the reason I mention the lower middle class is that they are the ones that are the most vulnerable of slipping into poverty. It is not a matter of equity. It is a matter of observation about where people are in the situation, and in 1947 that was worth $600. It is now worth $1,000 deduction. If it had kept pace with inflation, it would be $4,400.

So there is a concern there that is legitimate. What ought to be done about it? And I want to underline this. What ought to be done about it from a policy standpoint is not the business of the Census Bureau.

Mr. LELAND. I understand and I do not want to take the time of the committee much longer. But let me ask this.

The increased numbers of impoverished female heads of households is due, if you can tell me, probably to the epidemic of teenage pregnancy, who come usually from the lower economic scale in our society. Is that not correct?

Mr. CHAPMAN. It comes from a combination of that and the much higher divorce rates. We have had a doubling of the divorce rate in the last dozen years, and high separation rates—those three things together.

Mr. LELAND. One last question. Black people—and I am asking this for obvious reasons—again, my mother is a unique example, but far be it from me to state that I represent the example of how people can make it in America because I evolved out of an impoverished condition. But black women, as I understand it, are the higher unemployed or employed at a lower status than any other category of people. Is that not correct?

Mr. CHAPMAN. I do not know what your categories would be.

Mr. LELAND. There are more black women—the proportion would be higher unemployed or underemployed. Is that not correct?

Mr. GREEN. Well, the unemployment rates for blacks generally are quite a bit higher than for whites.

Mr. LELAND. But statistically it seems to me, if I am not mistaken—and I am not a person who remembers statistics very well—but it seems to me that black women add to the unemployment rate of black people overall much more than other categories, if you disregard youth unemployment in the black community. Is that not correct?

Mr. GREEN. I think that is generally true.

Mr. LELAND. Historically black women have always been in higher numbers or proportionately higher more the heads of household. I think that because of the status changing even more so today and I guess what I am trying to get from you is, when we consider this category of expanded heads of households, particularly women single heads of households, that black women single heads of households, also expand that category.

Is that not correct?

Mr. CHAPMAN. If I follow your question, I think that is correct.

Mr. GREEN. I think the point you touched on earlier is relevant here. It is more difficult for a woman with no husband present, but with children present, to get a job. Child care arrangements have to be made. It is just a more difficult situation and most women still retain custody of the children.

Of course, if it is a child born out of wedlock, then it usually stays with the mother and so the woman is in a more difficult situation. Even as the economy improves with the availability of jobs, it is not always so easy to get into the labor market.

Mr. LELAND. Particularly when you are black, and I am not trying to bring into this discussion necessarily the nuances of racism. But still it is a very looming problem in America today, and I guess it is something for us to consider.

We heard earlier, by the way, that black people suffer more from infant mortality than anybody else. The statistics are very important to me and I know they are important to the committee.

Mr. GREEN. I guess the other point to emphasize is that the poverty rates for each group separately, for women separately and for men, are going down, but a large growth in the number of families maintained by women with no husband present. The fact that their poverty rates are higher than for male-headed families pulls up the overall poverty rate, even though both groups are doing better when viewed from their own perspective.

Mr. CHAPMAN. The question is how do you want to define this problem. Is this a problem of worsening conditions for women maintaining households and raising children, or is in fact that situ-

ation getting somewhat better but that we are having such an extreme expansion of that category that we have a much greater example of that problem and a much wider expression of it in the population as a whole?

Mr. GREEN. That is precisely what is happening.

Mr. LELAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Coats.

Mr. COATS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chapman, welcome to the committee. I wonder if I could ask you a couple of preliminary questions before I get to my main point. You have given us the figures, I think, on the number of single parent families in the poverty level. Do you have the number of single parent families totally?

Mr. CHAPMAN. It has gone up, obviously, also.

Mr. GREEN. Actually, the third chart we presented was not restricted to poverty. It showed the percent of all families maintained by women with no husband present. That would be the third chart in the handout. We also had a chart that showed what percent of all poor families were maintained by women.

Mr. CHAPMAN. What we have, Congressman, I guess, is we have it divided by race. We do not have the total for the population as a whole. I think it is slightly above the white group.

Mr. GREEN. That is correct.

Mr. CHAPMAN. It was 12 percent in 1980 for whites and 40 percent in 1980 for blacks, and I think it is about 15 percent for the population as a whole.

Mr. COATS. You have figures that indicate the percentage increase in the decade of the 1970's.

Mr. CHAPMAN. Yes. It went up in the category of white from 9 percent to 12 percent in that decade, and from 28 percent to 40 percent on blacks.

Mr. COATS. And do you have figures that indicate the percent of increase totally in one-parent families, not broken down in terms of whites and blacks?

Mr. CHAPMAN. It would be slightly above that 9- to 12-percent increase.

Mr. COATS. Maybe I am asking the question wrong. What has been the percentage increase in one-parent families during the decade of the 1970's to the 1980's? How fast has it increased and how much of a problem is it becoming?

Mr. GREEN. We do not have that summary statistic readily available. We can calculate it.

Mr. COATS. I had heard the figure 62 percent.

Mr. CHAPMAN. I know what you are talking about. All right. The increase of single parent families in the country as a whole is 69.1 percent, is it not?

Mr. GREEN. That is nonfamily households. That is not necessarily single parent. It includes single individuals also.

Mr. COATS. Sixty-nine percent.

Mr. CHAPMAN. There are about four or five ways to cut this question.

Mr. WEED. You are interested in single parent families and the actual increase in the total number of them?

Mr. COATS. Yes.

Mr. WEED. From 1970 to 1981, we have an increase among those maintained by women of 92.5 percent. That is almost double. And among men there is a similar increase, 93 percent. And the number that are maintained by men is now about two-thirds of a million, or 666,000, and women numbered about 5.6 million.

Mr. COATS. We heard some testimony from the witnesses this morning indicating that contrary to a lot of popular belief the increase in divorce rate and, therefore, creation of new single parent families, is correlated with good economic conditions.

Mr. CHAPMAN. Well, if you think that divorce is caused by economic conditions, then I guess you could argue it both ways—that people in hard times are more pressed, therefore, they are more likely to get divorced—although in fact in the 1930's the divorce rate was substantially lower than it was in the good period that followed.

The question is causality. What was driving that increase? Was it the economy or was it something else? I know the argument which is that in good times people can afford to get divorced and live separately and still have an economic existence that is viable for both. There is probably something to that, but the study that we did, and also the study by the University of Michigan survey research center, showed about the same kind of relationship.

The dynamic is primarily running the other way. Although the economy may have affected the divorce rates, the divorce rate does affect the economic conditions of people because there is a tremendous association of poverty with single parent status.

Mr. GREEN. Also, I do not think you can ignore the separation. If divorce and separation were less common in the past, perhaps there was more social stigma associated with it in the past than there is now.

Mr. CHAPMAN. There are lots of other things driving divorce rates than the economy.

Mr. COATS. Will you be conducting interim studies that you could provide to the committee on an updated basis so that we can measure, say, what has happened in the early 1980's versus what has happened between 1970 and 1980?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Yes, and we would like to be asked for particular kinds of information, too. For example, as I have gotten into this, I have found there are some holes in our Federal data. One is the area of adoption. Apparently about 10 years ago we stopped even collecting data on that subject. So there are various subjects where we can make some improvement in our Federal picture or statistical picture on families and we would be happy to have your advice and suggestions in that respect.

[The information referred to appears on p. 136, question 3.]

Mr. COATS. One of the things we have been trying to accomplish or we want to accomplish with this committee is to establish a reliable data base, and I am sure you can help us with that.

Mr. GREEN. I might add that in a year we will start the survey of income participation this October. It will be much better suited for examining these kinds of issues, because it will be a longitudinal survey which will enable us to observe what happens to a family as it passes through divorce and separation.

We plan to follow members in the survey. So we will see how family finances change and how the labor force participation and program participation changes as well.

Mr. CHAPMAN. One of the things I want to leave with you is the observation that I believe is in the paper, that poverty status is not a steady status. Families move in and out of poverty according to changes in family composition and other factors. A very high proportion of all children will in fact be touched by the condition of living in a single parent family for some period of their lives.

The other side of the coin is that those who are in single parent families might not remain in that status for their entire childhood.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Levin.

Mr. LEVIN. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Yes, two very quick requests.

Since I was voting for part of your testimony and did not hear everything you said, is it correct that your statements with regard to poverty differ from what Mrs. Rivlin said today, although your figures end in 1980 and hers go to 1983.

Would you briefly look at her statement and give us your opinion as to whether or not you agree with the figures that she has used to determine how many families are in poverty and to infer what the current trend is?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Surely.

Mr. WOLF. The second request is, could you examine your statistics on divorce and single parent families in conjunction with those of Russia, England, Germany, Japan, and any other countries you belive are appropriate to acquire a qualitative data base. By analyzing trends in other countries, Mr. Chairman, we can compare different systems and laws with current U.S. policy and recognize constructive systems to apply to the problems we are discussing today.

Mr. CHAPMAN. We would be happy to do that.

[The information referred to appears on p. 136, question 4.]

Mr. WOLF. Thank you very much.

Chairman MILLER. Congresswoman Johnson.

Ms. JOHNSON. I have nothing, thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Are you able to break down the divorce rate, at what point divorces occur in marriages—1 year, 3 years, 10 years, 20 years? Is that data available?

Mr. CHAPMAN. We can.

[The information referred to appears on p. 137, question 5.]

Chairman MILLER. Could it be made available to the committee? It is not presented in this testimony, but if it is available to the Census Bureau, I would appreciate it if it could be made available to the committee.

Mr. WEED. Could you be a little bit more specific?

Chairman MILLER. I am interested in how many years into marriage the divorce event occurs. Do 40 percent of them occur in the first 3 years or the first year, and do you find a lag and then at 20 years you find another event? I have some ideas about what happens, but I think it would be very important to the Congress, as we study the various rights of various family members.

It would be interesting to know how long people knew one another and extended families and all of that through the institution of marriage. I would like to know what those trends are.

Mr. WEED. They are available. I do not have them right here.

Chairman MILLER. OK. Thank you.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, let me ask. In the request for the comparative data, which I think is an excellent one, I think you mentioned divorce. I think it would be useful if we could have some comparative data for other aspects that were covered in the testimony this morning.

Chairman MILLER. Perhaps we should take the request of Congressman Wolf, and see what other kind of comparative data we would like, and get the minority and majority staff together to take the Census Bureau up on their offer. We should figure out where there are holes in the current Federal data base with respect to the concerns of this committee, and begin to fill the gaps.

Mr. LELAND. Mr. Chairman, in that regard, do you have a breakdown? I do not know if this is relevant to ask, but do you have a breakdown in regard to religion?

Mr. CHAPMAN. No, we do not collect that any longer. It has gotten too controversial. It is one of those cases where it would be very interesting to have it, but it would be very hard to get it.

Chairman MILLER. It may be available. I am not sure. I was going to say the committee may be able to secure that in some form. The Census Bureau does not keep it, but religious institutions run surveys on rates of divorce and marriage duration and that sort of thing that we could try to secure.

Mr. Marriott.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Just another question, back to divorce. Is it also true that for the people who get divorced for the first time and then remarry, there is a high rate of second divorces? Do you have that information?

Mr. CHAPMAN. Yes, that is correct. I do not have the specific number.

Mr. WEED. We had a survey in 1975 that showed generally that the probability of a first marriage ending in divorce for women born in 1945 to 1949 would be about 38 percent. For those who then remarried, the probability would be about 44 percent of the marriage ending in divorce. So that survey indicated a slightly higher proportion of redivorce in second marriages.

There are other data available that I am aware of, and it is a controversial area and you are apt to find other kinds of results different from that. To my knowledge, they differ in the kinds of data they used and in the way the analyses were done.

[The information referred to appears on p. 137, question 6.]

Mr. MARRIOTT. I would be very anxious to have all of those particulars and have it made available for the committee. And one other thing: What type of statistics do you have on child abuse? Do you keep records?

Mr. CHAPMAN. I do not believe that is a Census Bureau function. You might try HHS on that.

Mr. MARRIOTT. You do not keep any statistics at all on the rate of child abuse, the frequency of abuses, or the number of cases reported? It is not in your jurisdiction?

Mr. CHAPMAN. No.

Mr. GREEN. I think that would be very difficult to collect from our household surveys. But I believe there is an office within HHS that does work on that.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you again for your time and for the information, and we look forward to working with you in the future.

Mr. CHAPMAN. Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Next the committee will hear from a panel made up of: Armand Nicholi, who is on the faculty of Harvard Medical School, staff, Massachusetts General Hospital, and former chairman, Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Children and Family; Dr. Walter Williams, professor of economics, George Mason University; and Rita Kramer, who is the author of "In Defense of the Family," "Giving Birth," "Child Bearing in America Today," and "How to Raise a Human Being," and numerous contributions to the New York Times "Parents" column.

If she would come forward, please. We will hear from the members of the panel in the order in which they were called. And again, if you have prepared testimony it will be included in the record in its entirety and we would like you to proceed in the manner in which you are most comfortable. And we will hear from all of the panelists and then make time available for questions.

[Information supplied by Bruce Chapman follows:]

INFORMATION ON POVERTY STATUS, CHILD SUPPORT, AND DIVORCE

Question 1. How does the receipt of noncash benefits affect the poverty status of families with a female householder?

Families maintained by women with no husband present are far more vulnerable to economic hardship than other families. A large percentage of them remain below the poverty level even when the value of the major means-tested noncash benefits they receive is counted as part of their incomes. However, the inclusion of noncash benefits lowers the poverty rate substantially for these families. (See attached table.) When selected means-tested benefits were counted at market value, only 16 percent of families with a female householder, no husband present, were below the poverty level in 1979, compared with 30 percent under the official definition of poverty that is based on money income only. (It should be noted that market value is the most generous measure of the cash value of in-kind benefits. Use of other valuation methods would yield smaller reductions in poverty.) The valuation of benefits also resulted in a greater reduction in poverty for female-householder families than for families in general, so that they accounted for only 44 percent of all poor family households, compared with 48 percent under the official definition.

Question 2. To what extent does the receipt of child support and alimony payments provide for the economic needs of divorced or separated women?

The Census Bureau conducted a special survey in April 1979 that collected detailed data on the receipt of child support, alimony, and property settlements. It was found that of the 7.1 million women who had children present from an absent father, only about three-fifths were awarded or had an agreement to receive child support payments, and of the women who were supposed to receive child support, only half received the full amount that they were due. (See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 112, "Child Support and Alimony: 1978." U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.)

Question 3. What are the United States statistics for divorce in the 1970s and 1980s?

Between 1966 and 1976 the number of divorces granted annually in the United States more than doubled, rising from 499,000 to 1,083,000. After 1976, the annual divorce total increased much more slowly, rising to 1,219,000 in 1981. There was a slight decline to 1,180,000 in 1982. This was the first decline in the annual total since 1962. The annual divorce rate also doubled between 1966 and 1976, rising from 2.5 to 5.0 divorces per 1,000 population. The rate remained stable for 1977, rose to 5.4 for 1979, and then fluctuated at 5.2 in 1980, 5.3 in 1981, and 5.1 in 1982.

Question 4. What are the figures regarding divorce and single-parent families in Russia, England, Germany, and Japan?

The U.N. Demographic Yearbook reports that in 1980 the divorce rate per 1,000 population was 1.22 in Japan, 1.56 in Germany (Federal Republic),

3.01 in England and Wales, and 3.50 in Russia (Soviet Union). By comparison, the rate was 5.20 divorces per 1,000 population in the United States in 1980.

It is generally very difficult to obtain comparable figures regarding family composition because of the wide range of family/household definitions employed by various countries and the differences in the way countries tabulate and publish family data. We have obtained the following information, but we urge that great caution be used in interpreting the data.

For Japan in 1975, there were 691,100 one-parent families, comprising 4.0 percent of the 17,427,400 families with related children under 18 years, and 2.6 percent of all families (27,028,100) irrespective of type or presence of children. For Germany in 1980, there were 1,566,000 one-parent families, constituting 14.4 percent of the 10,861,000 families with children under 18 years, and 6.9 percent of the total 22,680,000 families of all types. For Great Britain in 1976, there were 750,000 one-parent families, comprising 11 percent of all families with dependent children under 18 years (about 6.8 million). For the Soviet Union in 1979, there were 7.9 million one-parent families, comprising 12 percent of the 66.3 million families of all types. By comparison, the United States in 1982 had 6,547,000 one-parent family households comprising 21.1 percent of the 31,012,000 family households with own children under 18 years, and 10.7 percent of the 61,019,000 family households of all types.

Question 5. How many years into marriage does the divorce event occur? That is, what is the distribution of marriages as they divorce?

Divorce statistics for 1978 show that the median duration of marriages ending in divorce that year was 6.6 years (in other words, half of the disrupted marriages had lasted less than 6.6 years and half more than 6.6 years). Also in 1978, of the divorces granted in that year, 4.6 percent lasted less than 1 year, 22.0 percent lasted less than 3 years, 67.0 percent lasted less than 10 years, and 88.7 percent lasted less than 20 years.

Recent analyses based on marital-status life tables for the United States, 1976-77, show that, out of a cohort of 100 newly contracted marriages, a cumulative figure of 2 would end in divorce before the first anniversary, 11 would end in divorce before the third annniversary, 33 before the tenth anniversary, and 44 before the twentieth anniversary. (See the attached article, "Divorce: Americans' Style," from American Demographics, March 1982, pages 14-15; also, see the attached report, "National Estimates of Marriage Dissolution and Survivorship: United States," from Vital and Health Statistics, Series 3, No. 19, published by the National Center for Health Statistics, November 1980.)

Question 6. What is the percentage of second divorces in remarriages?

A Census Bureau report based on the June 1975 Current Population Survey showed that, for women born between 1945 and 1949, the projected proportion that may eventually end a first marriage in divorce was 38 percent. Among women born in 1945-49 who ended their first marriage in divorce and then remarried, a projected 44 percent would end their second marriage in divorce. These data show that the likelihood of a second marriage ending in divorce is greater than the likelihood that a first marriage will end in divorce. (See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 297, "Number, Timing, and Duration of Marriages and Divorces in the United States: June 1975." U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1976.)

Attachments

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20233

POVERTY STATUS OF FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS WITH A FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT: 1979

(Numbers in thousands. Households as of March 1980. Households are classified according to the poverty status of the family or the nonfamily householder).

Characteristics	Not counting noncash benefits (Official definition)	Counting noncash benefits at market value 1/
ALL INCOME LEVELS		
Total households	79,108	79,108
Family households	58,426	58,426
With female householder, no husband present	8,540	8,540
Percent of total	10.8	10.8
Percent of family households	14.6	14.6
BELOW POVERTY LEVEL		
Total households	9,549	5,337
Family households	5,320	3,101
With female householder, no husband present	2,575	1,354
Percent of total	27.0	25.4
Percent of family households	48.4	43.7
Percent below poverty level	30.2	15.9

1/ Noncash benefits include food stamps, free or reduced price school lunches, public housing, Medicare and Medicaid (including expenditures for institutional care). The market value is the price of the good in the private market place (e.g., the market value of food stamps is the face value of the stamps).

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Technical Paper No. 50, "Alternative Methods for Valuing Selected In-Kind Transfer Benefits and Measuring Their Effect on Poverty" (March 1982), table F-1.

Divorce: Americans' Style

by James A. Weed

More than three million Americans became married in 1952, and no doubt they all promised to take their new spouses as husband or wife "until death do us part." Despite such good intentions, by 1977, when members of the marriage cohort of 1952 celebrated their 25th wedding anniversaries, fully 446,000 couples, or 29 percent, had divorced.

It has taken the 1957 marriage cohort five years less to reach this same level of divorce. Of the 1.5 million marriages performed that year, 29 percent had ended in divorce by 1977, the 20th anniversary for those who remained together. By 1977, divorce had also ended about 30 percent of the 1.6 million marriages performed in 1962, before their 15th anniversary, and 28 percent of the 1.9 million marriages performed in 1967, before their 10th anniversary. Marriages do not last as long as they once did. Such statistics support the claim of the 1970s to be the "decade of divorce."

The divorce statistics of the marriage cohorts just mentioned are not yet complete, however. If current divorce rates continue, another 3 percent of the 1952 cohort will divorce, for a total of 32 percent. The cohorts of 1957, 1962, and 1967 will have another 6, 10, and 17 percent, respectively, of their marriages end in divorce. Indeed, fully half of all recently married couples could eventually divorce.

The fact that many marriages end in divorce does not necessarily mean that marriage is no longer an American institution. A recent study of American women aged 15 to 44 in 1976 showed that seven out of ten divorcees remarried within five years of their divorce. Divorced men are more likely than divorced women to remarry. Repeat marriages are becoming common: In 1979, for example, an estimated 44 percent of all marriages were remarriages, up from 30 percent in 1969. Although more couples now divorce, marriage remains the norm.

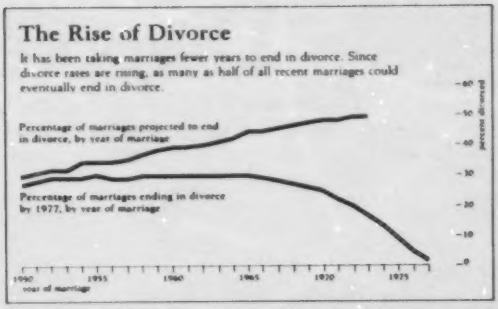
The duration of marriages can be predicted in much the same way as the length of life, using life tables. With the life-table procedure, it is possible to calculate the proportion of marriages that can be expected to survive to a specified wedding anniversary, the percentage of marriages that will end in divorce both before and after a specified anniversary, and the expected duration of marriages. The tables may be used to predict future divorce statistics, or to calculate one's own odds.*

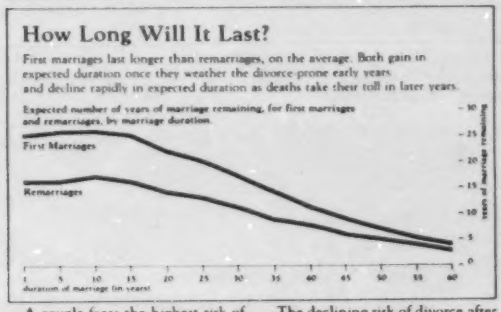
Achieving Anniversaries

Couples celebrating their 50th wedding anniversaries are often curious about the likelihood of marriages reaching the "golden" anniversary. Many will be disappointed by the answer: Achieving the 50th anniversary is not as rare an event as might be supposed. Even with today's high divorce rates, one of eight marriages will last until the 50th anniversary. The proportion is somewhat higher for first marriages and lower for remarriages, because people generally are older when they remarry and thus less likely to survive to a 50th anniversary, and because divorce rates are higher when one or both spouses have been married before.

This particular application of the life table may be referred to as a "duration-of-marriage" table, because it follows the survival (or dissolution) of marriages in a hypothetical cohort as marriages proceed from one anniversary to the next. In each one-year interval the hypothetical marriages are subject to specified dissolution rates, including divorce, death of husband, and death of wife. The results presented in this article are derived from duration-of-marriage tables for the United States, under the assumption that the marriages are subject to the divorce and death rates by duration of marriage (instead of by age) estimated for the U.S. during the period 1976–77.

James A. Weed is chief of the Marriage and Family Statistics Branch at the Census Bureau.





A couple faces the highest risk of divorce in the first ten years of marriage, followed by diminishing risk as the marriage "ages." The chances of a spouse dying, on the other hand, increase with the length of a marriage, but this risk remains comparatively low during and for some time after the years when the risk of divorce is high. A couple whose marriage survives its early years earns something of a reprieve.

The declining risk of divorce after the early years of marriage greatly increases the chances of celebrating future anniversaries for couples who have been together for some time. For example, of 100 newly performed marriages only 13 achieve the 50th anniversary; but of 100 marriages that have survived to the 10th anniversary, 21 reach the 50th. Of every 100 marriages that achieve the 25th anniversary, 32 also attain the 50th anniversary; and 53 of every 100 marriages that last until the 40th anniversary survive to the 50th.

Given current divorce and death rates, we can estimate the chances of attaining other anniversaries. For example, 63 percent of new marriages survive to the 10th anniversary, 41 percent to the 25th, and 25 percent to the 40th. Among marriages that reach the 10th anniversary, 65 percent also achieve the 25th, and 40 percent the 40th. Of couples celebrating their 25th anniversary, 61 percent will be together long enough to attain their 40th.

The probability of divorce decreases with the duration of marriage. At today's divorce rates, 39 percent of marriages reaching the 5th anniversary and 27 percent of those reaching the 10th will eventually end in divorce. But only 11 percent of those marriages that attain the 20th, and 7 percent of those achieving the 25th anniversary, will subsequently end in divorce.

The risk of divorce declines rapidly in the early years of marriage. Compare the figures in the previous paragraph: Between the 5th and 10th anniversaries the probability of a future divorce declines by 12 percentage points (from 39 to 27), but between the 20th and 25th anniversaries the probability declines by only 4 points (from 11 to 7).

Figuring the Odds

Another way to portray the recent American divorce pattern is to calculate the percentage of marriages that will end in divorce before achieving a given anniversary. At current divorce rates, 19 percent of a given cohort of new marriages will end in divorce before the 5th anniversary,

"Today, a new marriage will last an average of 23.2 years. For first marriages, the expected duration is two or three years more than this, and for remarriages some five to ten years less."

33 percent before the 10th, 40 percent before the 15th, 47 percent before the 25th, and 50 percent before the 50th. (These percentages are somewhat higher than those presented at the beginning of this article for the actual marriage cohorts of 1952, 1957, 1962, and 1967 because divorce rates have since risen.)

Some marriages end with the death of a spouse and, of course, are no longer subject to the risk of divorce. As a result, the cumulative percentage of couples divorced at any given anniversary is not as large as it would be if some marriages were not disrupted by death. If we adjust the figures so that death disrupts no marriages at all for a fixed period after marriage, we can determine statistically the potential percent divorced by a given anniversary.

If we assume for example, that only divorce can disrupt marriages before the 30th anniversary (the risk of disruption by death is zero), 49 percent of marriages would end in divorce by the 25th anniversary, using the 1976–77 rates. This is only two points higher than the 47 percent figure derived from the duration-of-marriage tables, in which both divorce and death dissolved marriages. This comparison demonstrates how minimal the effect of mortality is during the early decades of the average marriage.

Expectation of Marriage

In a life table the effects of death rates at specific ages are summarized in a statistic known as the "expectation of life at birth." For example, the current expectation of life at birth is about 74 for Americans. Applying the life table approach to marriage duration yields a similar measure, the "expected duration of a marriage just initiated," which reports the number of years an average marriage can be expected to last after the wedding.

Today, a new marriage will last an average of 23.2 years, based on the divorce and death rates of 1976–77. For first marriages, the expected duration is two or three years more than this, and for remarriages some five to ten years less.

The expected duration of new marriages has declined. Between 1948 and 1965 the expected duration of marriage was 30 to 32 years. By 1969 the figure had dropped to 26.2 years, and the 1976–77 figure is a full three years below that. Since the early 1960s, the expected duration of new marriages has declined about eight years, or almost 25 percent.

This decline reflects the increase in divorces, especially considering the moderate decline in mortality

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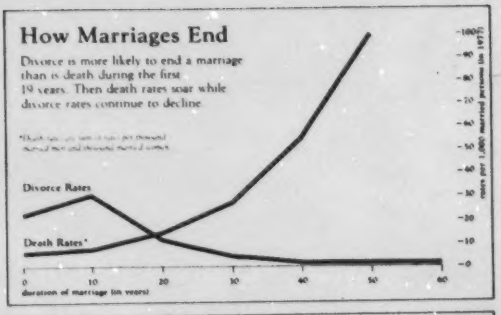
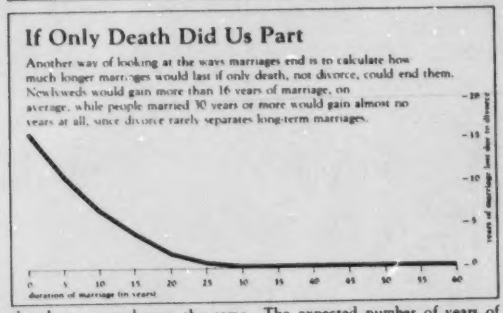

How Marriages End
Divorce is more likely to end a marriage than is death during the first 19 years. Then death rates soar while divorce rates continue to decline.
Divorce Rates
Death Rates*
duration of marriage (in years)


If Only Death Did Us Part
Another way of looking at the ways marriages end is to calculate how much longer marriages would last if only death, not divorce, could end them. Newlyweds would gain more than 16 years of marriage, on average, while people married 30 years or more would gain almost no years at all, since divorce rarely separates long-term marriages.
duration of marriage (in years)

that has occurred over the same period and tends to lengthen the expected duration of marriage. The decline also reflects the fact that remarriages, with a somewhat shorter expected duration than first marriages, have been accounting for a growing share of the total number of marriages performed each year.

The expected duration of marriage can be calculated not just for new marriages but for any anniversary. The expected number of years of marriage remaining for married couples celebrating their first anniversary is 22.9 years, slightly less than the 23.2 years expected for marriages just initiated. The first year is a rough one.

However, the expected number of years of marriage remaining increases for couples celebrating successive anniversaries from the 2nd to the 9th. At the 2nd anniversary an average 23.0 years remain, and at the 9th anniversary the figure is 24.5. Even at the 15th anniversary the expected duration of marriage is 23.4 years—slightly more than the expected duration among newlyweds. For a marriage that reaches the 15th anniversary, the first 15 years cost nothing in expected duration.

This measure illustrates clearly that the risk of divorce is high in the early years of marriage and declines rapidly thereafter. Of course, as a marriage "ages" it faces an increased risk of disruption due to the death of a spouse, and the expected duration eventually begins to decline as a result. At the 25th anniversary the expected number of years of marriage remaining is 19.1. Those marriages which attain the 40th anniversary last on the average an additional 11.3 years. And if your marriage lasts 50 years, the odds are it will last another 7.

Divorce Trends

Underlying all these probability calculations is the fundamental assumption that the current divorce and death rates will continue unchanged for several decades.

Twenty years ago, the general divorce rate was about the same as in the years just before World War II. About eight or nine divorces were granted each year per thousand married women aged 15 years or older. In 1967, the rate was only slightly higher—11.2 divorces granted annually per thousand married women. But the 1979 rate of 22.8 was more than double the 1967 rate.

The annual divorce rate now appears to be leveling off. Between 1976 and 1977, the rate remained unchanged at 22.1 divorces per

"The large number of divorces are themselves a force that could keep the divorce rate high. With marriages so often ending in divorce, many previously married people are joining the pool of available marriage partners."

thousand married women. After increasing in 1978 and 1979, the rate appears to be stable for 1980, according to provisional figures.

Although the divorce rate may be leveling off, or increasing at a much slower pace than a few years ago, there is little evidence suggesting when the rate will begin to decline, or even that such a decline will occur. Since recent divorce rates (1976–77) imply that half of all marriages will end in divorce, some argue that society cannot long sustain such a high level of marital disruption. Of course, 30 years ago few would have predicted that society would be able to tolerate even one-third of married couples divorcing, but that level has already been reached by some marriage cohorts.

The large number of divorces are themselves a force that could keep the divorce rate high. With marriages so often ending in divorce, many previously married people are joining the pool of available marriage partners. Since the large majority of divorced people remarry, and remarriages have a higher overall risk of divorce, the general divorce rate is likely to rise as a result.

Pushing in the other direction is the tendency of young adults to postpone their first marriage. In 1970, only 11 percent of the women and 19 percent of the men between the ages of 25 and 29 had never been married. In 1981, 22 percent of the women and 34 percent of the men in that age group had never been married. Because women who marry in their twenties are much less likely to divorce than those who marry in their teens, the trend toward later marriage could reduce divorce rates.

No one can predict with certainty future divorce rates because they are influenced by so many different factors. However, divorce has become an important ingredient in the marital composition of the American population. For example, in 1970 only 5 percent of the women aged 25 to 54 who had ever been married were currently divorced, and only 3 percent were separated. In 1981, 12 percent were divorced and another 5 percent separated.

Divorce seems increasingly accepted today, as divorces have become more common. That fact could push the divorce rate higher still. With more women entering the work force, new strains in family life may lead to divorce, and economic hard times could create further stress. While the future of divorce rates remains uncertain, divorce—like marriage — has become an American institution. •

STATEMENT OF ARMAND NICHOLI, JR., M.D., PH. D., FACULTY, HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL, STAFF, MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL, AND FORMER CHAIRMAN, MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON CHILDREN AND FAMILY

Dr. NICHOLI. Mr. Chairman, I am Armand Nicholi and I am a physician with the Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital and a psychiatrist, and I speak on behalf of the American Psychiatric Association, a professional society representing some 27,000 members. And my host here has been the Family Research Council.

Of all that we know about human development, if one factor influences the character development and the emotional stability of a person, it is the quality of the relationship he experiences as a child with both of his parents. Conversely, if people suffering from severe nonorganic emotional illness have one experience in common, it is the absence of a parent, through death or divorce, time-demanding job or absence for other reasons. A parent's inaccessibility, either physically, emotionally, or both, can exert a profound effect on the child's emotional health.

These impressions come from a vast body of research which began over three decades ago and that led the World Health Organization over 20 years ago to make the statement: "What is believed to be essential for mental health is that the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with his mother."

And more recent research has demonstrated the full emotional impact on the child of the missing or the inaccessible father. What has been shown over and over again to contribute most to the emotional development of the child is a close, warm, sustained and continuous relationship with both parents.

The close physical contact that Dr. Brazelton spoke about this morning, when a child is held, a very young infant is held very close to one physically, we know that something goes on there, that physically as well as emotionally that is essential over a long period of time for the emotional health of the child.

Yet this physical and emotional accessibility of parents to one another and of parents to children is extremely difficult to attain in our society today, because of several trends, and I would like to mention just one or two:

The ever-increasing divorce rate subjects an ever-increasing number of children to physically and emotionally absent parents. The divorce rate has risen some 700 percent since the beginning of the century and it continues to soar. My understanding is that there is about 1 million children a year involved in divorce cases; 13 million children, or over half of all the children in the United States under 18, have one or both parents missing.

Within 3 years after the divorce, recent studies have shown, fathers, many fathers, never see their children. Because of divorce, an increasing number of homes have only one parent, and one-parent families are growing at about 20 times the rate of two-parent families.

The increasing number of married women who have joined the labor force and work outside of the home, especially those mothers

with young children, have an effect on family life. In 1948, 18 percent of the Nation's mothers worked outside of the home. Today it is over 50 percent.

What I find most disturbing about this phenomenon is that an ever-increasing percentage of mothers who work are mothers of very young children, who must work because of economic necessity.

Another trend, the intrusion of the television set into the American home, has had an effect on the American family that we have not even begun to measure. The parents' inaccessibility contributes to children spending enormous amounts of time watching television. The television set has become a babysitter in many homes.

Television acts as a two-edged sword: It both results from and causes mental inaccessibility. When parents are home physically, television often interferes with the meaningful interaction between parents and between parents and children.

We are just beginning to experience the first generation brought up completely on television. Some studies have shown that the average viewing time of the American child from 6 to 16 years of age is between 20 and 24 hours per week. If that child lives to be 80 and that continues throughout his life, he will have spent 8 to 10 years of his entire life watching television.

These are only a few of several trends contributing to a change in child-rearing practices that has been taking place in this country during the past few decades. The change is this: In American homes today, child care has shifted from parents to other agencies. A home in which both parents are available to the child emotionally as well as physically in some areas of our society has become the exception rather than the rule.

And I refer not only to the disadvantaged and the divorce homes where the father is missing and the mother works; I refer to even the most affluent homes. Cross-cultural studies show that the U.S. parents spend considerably less time with their children than almost any other nation in the world.

Although both Russian parents work and although Russian children spend a great deal of time in family collectives, emotional ties between children and parents are stronger and the time spent together considerably greater than in the United States. There is relatively little juvenile delinquency in Russia. Some Russian fathers have said they would never let the day go by without spending 2 hours with their sons.

A study, as you may know, in a small community outside of Boston, measuring how much time fathers spend with their very young sons showed the average time per day is about 37 seconds. From my clinical experience and from my research with college students, I began to notice: (1) that a large number suffered from an incapacitating symptomatic or characterological illnesses; (2) that they seemed to have a number of dramatic early experiences with a rejecting, inaccessible or absent parent; and (3) that when we looked at their histories carefully, there appeared to be some causal relation between the earlier experience and the emotional illness they were suffering as an adult.

About 15 years ago, I began to study several hundred students that dropped out of college for psychiatric reasons, and two characteristics of the group were: (1) a marked isolation and alienation

from their parents, especially their fathers—and these were all young men—and (2) an overwhelming apathy and lack of motivation.

In addition, among those who had the most serious illness, that is those who were hospitalized with schizophrenia and diagnosed as schizophrenic, a large number had lost one or both parents through death. When compared with several control groups, this finding proved highly significant statistically, and this provided me with my first clue that there might be some association between a missing parent and emotional illness.

As I began to work with patients clinically, I began to realize that absence through death was the most severe kind of absence, but that there were many other kinds of absence. Recent studies we conducted among schoolchildren this past year in a Boston suburb indicated that children who had experienced divorce or death within the family had a statistically significant, strikingly higher incidence of emotional disorder than children from intact families.

Over the past few years, research studies have been carried out throughout the world trying to understand or refine our understanding of this phenomenon, to try to understand why some children are paralyzed by the loss of a parent through divorce or death and other children for some reasons that we do not understand seem not to be affected at all, just like some children can contract polio and be paralyzed by it and others seem to be not affected by it.

Studies on missing fathers have been carried out in several different countries. One published in the Archives of General Psychiatry studied the periodic absence of the father on 200 children seen at a military medical clinic where the father's absence was due to his military occupation. The children ranged from 3 to 18 years of age.

The researchers found early reaction to the father's departure, strangely enough, resembled reactions to children who lose a father by death: (1) rageful protest over desertion; (2) denial of the loss and an intense fantasy relationship with the parent; (3) efforts at reunion—they would often try to call the father on the phone or pretending they were speaking to him in the room—(4), irrational guilt and a need for punishment; (5) exaggerated separation anxieties and fears of being abandoned; (6) a decrease in impulse control; and (7) a wide variety of regressive symptoms.

When the fathers left home, the child was often allowed to do things not otherwise permitted. This made it difficult for the child to internalize a consistent set of standards for controlling his behavior. In several instances, the father's leaving was followed by disobedience, decline in school performance, and aggressive antisocial behavior.

The child seemed unable to control himself, and this loss of control of impulses is especially interesting in the light of the observation by many of us in psychiatry that more people come to see psychiatrists today because of a lack of impulse control, whereas 15 years ago they came because of an inability to have contact with their feelings and their impulses.

Several other recent studies bear on the absence or inaccessibility of the father, and all point to the same conclusions, and they all make all of us feel somewhat guilty for not being more accessible. A father absent for long periods contributes to: (*a*) low motivation for achievement; (*b*) inability to defer immediate gratification for later rewards; (*c*) low self-esteem; (*d*) susceptibility to group influence, peer influence, from which most influence to take drugs or to get involved in sexual activity takes place.

The absent father tends to have passive, effeminate, dependent sons, lacking in achievement, motivation, and independence. These are general findings, of course, with many exceptions.

Most children experience an absent parent as rejection, and rejection inevitably breeds resentment and hostility. The child may express this outwardly in the form of violence or inwardly in the form of depression, despondency, and self-injury.

The suicide rate in 10- to 14-year-olds in this country has doubled, and in children 15 to 19 years old it has tripled during the past 20 years. These trends have resulted in our society producing a staggering number of angry, depressed, and suicidal children. Research indicates that the loss or absence of a parent predisposes a child to a variety of emotional disorders that manifest themselves immediately or later in the child's life.

But what about the future? What can we expect if the divorce rate continues to soar, and if some of these trends that interfere with the emotional accessibility of parents to one another and to their children continue?

First of all, I think the quality of family life will continue to deteriorate, producing a society with a higher incidence of emotional illness than ever before known; 95 percent of our hospital beds, instead of 50 percent, may be taken up by mentally ill patients. The nature of this illness will be characterized primarily by lack of impulse control.

In this impulse-ridden society of tomorrow, we can expect the assassination of people in authority to be an everyday occurrence. All crimes of violence can be expected to increase, even those within the family. Because battered children, if they survive, tend to become parents who in turn abuse their children, the amount of violence within the family will increase exponentially. Aggression turned inward will also increase and the suicide rate will continue to soar.

What can we do about these trends? I think that we must take steps to reverse this process of producing empty and angry young people whose rage erupts either in uncontrolled violence or in depression and self-destruction.

When a family disintegrates, to reduce it to its simplest terms, both children and adults suffer a form of intense loneliness—the most painful and most frightening of human experiences. Loneliness is so painful to even contemplate that modern psychiatry has pretty much avoided the study of it.

People suffering from nonorganic disorders today—drug addicts, alcoholics, workaholics, and many other kinds of emotional illnesses—may in large measure be attempting to avoid the pain of loneliness. When a person is left alone on a raft or in a chamber

for long periods of time, he will often develop hallucinations and other psychotic symptoms to avoid this pain.

In addition, the first terrifying fear we experience as a child is the fear of being abandoned, of being left alone. Also, according to research at the Massachusetts General Hospital on dying patients, the fear of being abandoned is one of the last fears we experience in this life. And it is my conviction that because of divorce rates and family disintegration that millions of people in this country today struggle at some level throughout their lives with some form of loneliness.

Let me say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that in a brief look at the research in this area we have observed the high divorce rate and other trends in this Nation having a profound effect, not only on children but on all aspects of our society. As this divorce rate exploded upward in the sixties and seventies, clinical and laboratory research indicates that it is no coincidence that this trend was followed closely by a parallel increase in juvenile violent crime and in the tendency of a huge segment of our society to use psychoactive drugs.

This drug taking began in the early sixties among a few college students on the east and west coast. Today it involves between a quarter and a half of our entire population; 20 million people smoke marihuana daily, that one drug alone.

A vast body of research has shown that the drug-taking population today, like the same population in the early sixties when it was much smaller, is comprised of people of disaffection and rebellion, who tend to come from broken and disorganized homes.

Chairman MILLER. Let me interrupt you there. Those were the second bells, so we have to vote now. We will return soon for the rest of your conclusion. Please excuse us.

[Recess.]

Mr. LELAND [presiding]. We are going to proceed. Dr. Nicholi, if you would continue.

Dr. NICHOLI. Well, I was saying that as the divorce rate began to increase in the sixties and then in the late sixties began to shoot straight up right through the seventies, with this accelerated rate there has also been an increase, a parallel increase in juvenile violent crime and the use of psychoactive drugs, and a vast body of research has shown that the absence of a parent through death, divorce, or time-demanding job contributes to many forms of emotional disorder, especially the anger, rebelliousness, low self-esteem, depression, poor academic performance, and antisocial behavior that characterizes drug users.

The same characteristics that characterized drug users, this small group who began in the early sixties, interestingly enough, characterizes the large group of drug users today. They still have the same characteristics that distinguish them from the rest of the non-drug-using population.

Let me just make a few comments in closing about recommendations. Suffice it to say that the Government I think must recognize that families are the vital cells that constitute the flesh and blood of our society. When one family disintegrates, so does a part of our society.

Government must attempt through the media and through every means possible to change the Nation's attitude toward the family, so that it is given a higher priority. It seems to me that the Government and many of the institutions in this country are unthinkingly antifamily, and I think we need a revolution.

Mr. LELAND. Can you back up and repeat that, please?

Dr. NICHOLI. I said that I think that many of the institutions in our society are unthinkingly antifamily. I think this is true with our Governments as with our educational institutions, and our business corporations, and so forth. They think and plan without giving any thought to the family. The family is kind of a body out there that is a necessary evil that you give time to and then get back to what is really important.

Because human behavior is complex, research must come from many different disciplines. The Government must help the Nation become aware that poor academic performance, susceptibility to peer influence, and delinquent behavior, as well as suicide and homicide, have been found to be higher among children from divorced homes or homes in which one or both parents are missing or frequently absent.

The disruption of families not only imposes a vast economic burden on the Nation, but inflicts upon individual citizens more sorrow and suffering than war, poverty, and inflation combined. Once these facts are comprehended, the Government and the entire Nation will realize that the problem of divorce and these other trends that adversely affect the family can no longer be neglected.

To spend vast sums of money in other areas while neglecting the area of divorce and family dissolution is like placing an expensive roof on a house while neglecting the raging fire in the basement of that house.

I want to close by commending this committee for beginning an exploration of this problem.

[Prepared statement of Armond M. Nicholi follows:]

PREPARED TESTIMONY OF ARMAND M. NICHOLI, JR., M.D., HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL, MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL

If one factor influences the character development and emotional stability of a person, it is the quality of the relationship he experiences as a child with both of his parents. Conversely, if people suffering from severe nonorganic emotional illness have one experience in common, it is the absence of a parent through death, divorce, time-demanding job or absence for other reasons. A parent's inaccessibility either physically, emotionally, or both, can exert a profound influence on the child's emotional health. These impressions come from a vast body of research which began over three decades ago and that led the World Health Organization over twenty years ago to make this statement: "What is believed to be essential for mental health is that the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continous relationship with his mother . . ." and then presented evidence that many forms of psychoneuroses and character disorders are to be attributed to the absence of the mother or to discontinuities in the child's relationship with his mother. In the years following that statement, research throughout the world has demonstrated that a separation from the mother, even for brief periods of hosptialization, and the quality of the mother's relationship with the child, can profoundly affect both the child's physical and emotional development. And more recent research has demonstrated the full emotional impact on the child of the missing or inaccessible father. What has been shown over and over again to contribute most to the emotional development of the child is a close, warm, sustained and continuous

relationship with both parents. Yet the accelerating divorce rate and several other trends today in our society makes this most difficult to attain.

The ever-increasing divorce rate subjects an ever-increasing number of children to physically and emotionally absent parents. The divorce rate has risen 700 percent in this century and continues to soar. Over a million children a year are involved in divorce cases; 13 million (over half of all U.S.) children under 18 have one or both parents missing. Within three years after the divorce decree half the fathers never see their children. Because of divorce, an increasing number of homes have only one parent. One parent families are growing at 20 times the rate of two parent families.

The increasing numbers of married women who have joined the labor force and work outside of the home—especially those mothers with young children have a profound effect on family life. In 1948, 18 percent of the nation's mothers worked outside of the home. In 1971 this figure jumped to 43 percent. Today it is over 50 percent. The frequent articles describing how this phenomenon has increased marital stress and contributed to the high rate of divorce have become all too familiar. What I find most disturbing about this phenomenon is that an ever-increasing percentage of the mothers who work are mothers of very young children, and who must work because of economic necessity.

The obtrusion of the television set into the American home has had an effect on the American family that we have not yet even begun to fathom. Parental inaccessibility contributes to children spending enormous amounts of time watching television. The television set has become a babysitter in many homes. Television acts as a two-edged sword. It both results from and causes parental inaccessibility. When parents are home physically, television often interferes with the meaningful interaction between members of the family.

We are just beginning to experience the first generation brought up completely on television. Some studies have shown that the average viewing time of the American child from 6 to 16 years of age is between 20 and 24 hours per week. If he lives to be 80, and that continues throughout his life, he will have spent 8 to 10 years of his life watching television. Or to put it another way, if he lives to be 80, he will have lived a little less than 30,000 days. Because he sleeps one-third of that time, he lives about 20,000 days. One-fifth of his waking life or about 4,000 days will have been spent watching television. We have only begun to realize the full impact of this phenomenon on family life. Research showing the effects of T.V. violence on the behavior of both children and adults has been less than encouraging.

These are only a few of several trends contributing to a change in child-rearing that has been taking place in this country during the past few decades. The change is this: in American homes today child-care has shifted from parents to other agencies. A home in which both parents are available to the child emotionally as well as physically has become, in some areas of our society, the exception rather than the rule. And I refer not only to the disadvantaged and divorced home where the father is missing and the mother works. I refer to even the most affluent homes. Cross-cultural studies show that United States parents spend considerably less time with their children than almost any other country in the world. Although both Russian parents work and although Russian children spend a great deal of time in family collectives, emotional ties between children and parents are stronger and the time spent together is considerably greater than in the United States; there is relatively little juvenile delinquency in Russia. Some Russian fathers have said they would never let a day go by without spending two hours with their sons. A study in a small community in this country of how much time fathers spend with their very young sons shows that the average time per day is about 37 seconds.

From my clincial experience and from my research with college students, I began to notice (1) that a large number suffered from an incapacitating symptomatic or characterological conflict, (2) that they seemed to have in common a number of traumatic early experiences with a rejecting, inaccessible or absent parent, and (3) when we looked at their histories carefully, there appeared to be some causal relation between the earlier experiences and the emotional illness they were suffering as an adult. About 15 years ago I began studying several hundred young men who had dropped out of Harvard for psychiatric reasons. Two characteristics of the group were (1) a marked isolation and alienation from their parents, especially their fathers, and (2) an overwhelming apathy and lack of motivation. In addition, among those who had the most serious illness, that is, those hospitalized and diagnosed as schizophrenic, a large number lost one or both parents through death; when compared with several control groups, this finding proved highly significant statistically. This provided me with my first clue that there might be a relation between a missing parent and emotional illness. As I begin to work with patients clinically, I begin to realize that absence through death was the most severe kind of absence,

but that there were many other kinds of absence. Recent studies we conducted among school children this past year in a Boston suburb indicated that children who had experienced divorce or death within the family had a statistically significant, strikingly higher incidence of emotional disorder than children from intact families. Over the past few years, research studies have been carried out throughout the world trying to refine our understanding of this phenomenon and trying to refine our understanding of this phenomenon and trying to understand why some children are paralyzed by the loss of a parent through divorce or death and others seem to be unaffected (in the same way some people are paralyzed by polio and others not). The research is fascinating and we could spend several hours discussing it.

Studies on missing fathers have been carried out in several different countries. One published in the Archives of General Psychiatry, studied the periodic absence of the father on 200 children seen at a military medical clinic where the father's absence was due to his military occupation. The children ranged from 3 to 18 years of age.

The researchers found early reaction to the father's departure resembled reactions to children who lose a father by death: (1) rageful protest over desertion, (2) denial of the loss and an intense fantasy relationship with the parent, (3) efforts at reunion, (4) irrational guilt and a need for punishment, (5) exaggerated separation anxieties and fears of being abandoned, (6) a decrease in impulse control, and (7) a wide variety of regressive symptoms.

When the father left home, the child was often allowed to do things not otherwise permitted. This made it difficult for the child to internalize a consistent set of standards for controlling his behavior. In several instances, the father's leaving was followed by disobedience, decline in school performance, and aggressive antisocial behavior. The child seemed unable to control himself and this loss of control is especially interesting in light of the observation that more people today come to psychiatrists because of a lack of impulse control.

Several other recent studies bear on the absence or inaccessibility of the father and all point to the same conclusions: A father absent for long periods contributes to (a) low motivation for achievement, (b) inability to defer immediate gratification for later rewards, (c) low self-esteem (d) susceptibility to group influence and to juvenile delinquency. The absent father tends to have passive, effeminate, dependent sons lacking in achievement, motivation and independence. These are general findings with, of course, many exceptions.

Most children experience an absent parent as rejection and rejection inevitably breeds resentment and hostility. The child may express this outwardly in the form of violence or inwardly in the form of self-injury. The suicide rate in 10 to 14 year olds in the United States has doubled and in children 15 to 19 has tripled during the past 20 years. These trends have resulted in our society producing a staggering number of angry, depressed and suicidal children. Research indicates that the loss or absence of a parent predisposes a child to a variety of emotional disorders that manifest themselves immediately or later in the child's life.

What about the future? What can we expect if the divorce rate continues to soar? First of all, the quality of family life will continue to deteriorate, producing a society with a higher incidence of mental illness than ever before known. Ninety-five percent of our hospital beds may be taken up by mentally ill patients. The nature of this illness will be characterized primarily by a lack of impulse control. In this impluse ridden society of tomorrow we can expect the assassination of people in authority to be an every-day occurrence. All crimes of violence will increase, even those within the family. Because battered children—if they survive—tend to become parents who in turn abuse their children, the amount of violence within the family will increase exponentially. Aggression turned inward will also increase and the suicide rate will continue to soar.

What can we do about them? We must take steps to reverse this process of producing empty and angry young people whose rage erupts either in uncontrolled violence or in depression and self-destruction. When a familiy disintegrates—to reduce it to its simplest terms—both children and adults suffer a form of intense loneliness—the most painful and most frightening of human experiences. Loneliness is so painful to even contemplate that modern psychiatry has pretty much avoided the study of it. People suffering from nonorganic disorders prevalent today—drug addicts, alcoholics, workaholics, and even psychotics—may in larger measure be attempting to avoid the pain of loneliness. When a person is left alone on a raft or in a chamber for long periods of time, he will often develop hallucinations and other psychotic symptoms to avoid this pain. In addition, the first terrifying fear we experience as a child is the fear of being abandoned, of being left alone. Also, according to research at the Massachusetts General Hospital on dying patients, fear of being

abandoned is one of the last fears we experience in this life. And it is my conviction that because of divorce and family disintegration millions struggle with loneliness at some level throughout their lives—regardless of how closely they work with people. For professional relationships can never give us the emotional sustenance and support that the close, warm, personal relationships a healthy family life provide.

CONCLUSION

In a brief look at research in this area we have observed the high divorce rate and other trends in this nation have a profound effect not only on children but on all aspects of our society. As this divorce rate exploded upward in the late 60's and throughout the 70's, clinical and laboratory research indicates that it is no coincidence that this trend was followed closely by a parallel increase in juvenile violent crime and the tendency of a huge segment of our society to use psychoactive drugs. This drug taking began in the early's 60's among a few college students on the east and west coast. Today it involves between a quarter and a half of our entire population. Twenty million people smoke marijuana daily. A vast body of research has shown that the drug-taking population today, like this same population in the early 60's when it was much smaller, is comprised of people of disaffection and rebellion who tend to come from broken and disorganized homes. This same vast body of research has shown that the absence of a parent through death, divorce or time-demanding job, contributes to many forms of emotional disorder—especially the anger, rebelliousness, low self-esteem, depression, poor academic performance, and antisocial behavior that characterizes drug users. Time limits discussing any detailed recommendations for action. (1) Suffice it to say that the government must recognize fully that families are the vital cells that constitute the flesh and blood of our society. When one family disintegrates, so does a part of our society. (2) Government must attempt through the media and through every means possible to change the nation's attitude toward the family so that it is given the highest priority. (3) Government must encourage and sponsor research into the causes of divorce. Because human behavior is complex and multidetermined, research must come from many disciplines. (4) The government must help the nation become aware that poor academic performance, susceptibility to peer influence and delinquent behavior as well as suicide and homicide have been found to be higher among children from divorced homes in which one or both parents are missing or frequently absent.

The disruption of families not only imposes a vast economic burden on the nation but inflicts upon individual citizens more sorrow and suffering than war, poverty and inflation combined. Once these facts are comprehended, the government and the entire nation will realize that the problem of divorce can no longer be neglected. To spend vast sums of money in other areas while neglecting the area of divorce is like placing an expensive roof on a house while neglecting a raging fire in the basement of that house. I commend this committee for beginning an exploration of this problem.

Mr. LELAND. Thank you very much, doctor.

I am not sure who wants to go next.

STATEMENT OF RITA KRAMER, AUTHOR

Mrs. KRAMER. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee: I am going to start with an apology for beginning my remarks to you today by talking about myself. My only excuse for doing so is the one given by Henry David Thoreau at the beginning of "Walden," where he says:

> I should not talk so much about myself if there were anybody else I knew as well. Unfortunately, I am confined to this theme by the narrowness of my experience.

Of course, like Thoreau before me, I am being a bit less than ingenuous. Like him, I find reason to believe that my own experiences—and my reflections on those experiences—have some general relevance to the situation in which we all find ourselves today.

The situation to which I refer is a shifting of values I see as more than the expectable change that comes with time, technology, and thought as every generation succeeds its parents, and as one from

which we stand to lose perhaps more than we will gain. Those values now under attack from many quarters are those which shore up the traditional family's authority, give parents the strength to assert their beliefs while raising their children, and assure the continuity of our society and our civilization.

Although I am concerned by this state of affairs, I am not hopeless, because I believe that parents, although beleaguered, are not helpless. And my own experience leads me to some suggestions I would like to share with you here today for how families can be defended from usurpations of their functions by the agencies of Government and communications—the state and the media.

I came of age, married, and had children in the years after the Second World War, years characterized in this country by a great faith in the future. We had fought a terrible war, but it was one about which we had no ambivalence, and we had won what we perceived as a victory for humanity, for freedom and individual rights over slavery and collective brutalization.

We set about doing good abroad—and I refer to such unprecedented acts of international altruism as the Marshall plan and other forms of relief to war-ravaged countries—and reforming our own society at home to an even more unprecedented degree. The society I see around me in the United States today is one which has legislated a greater degree of equality in a shorter time than has ever anywhere been accomplished without revolution and bloodshed, but in one of those paradoxes that are inherent in history, justice has been brought about at a certain cost to freedom. We are now as individuals, as families, and as a society, at a point where we must think carefully about where we want to go from here.

How should we, as individuals and as a society, raise our children? We are a self-conscious nation, free to ask such questions, and for 200 years we have been listening to those, from Cotton Mather to Dr. Spock, who are ready to give us the answers.

Beyond Dr. Spock, we now have various special interest groups, various kinds of reformers in Government, the media, and the academic world, all seemingly agreed on at least one aspect of social policy—the need to bring about greater equality, to facilitate it and—if that does not work fast enough—to require it.

Now what does this have to do with how we bring up our children, as individual parents and as a nation? I think something has gone wrong in the way we interpret equality and that this misunderstanding is affecting the lives children live in their families and in their schools, and eventually, by determining what kinds of adults they become, must have an effect on the nature of our society.

The equality on which the idea of this country was based was intended to mean two things: equality before the law—the same protection granted to all citizens—and equality for each to go as far in any direction as his own capacities and energies, his abilities and ambitions, would take him.

However imperfectly realized, this was the ideal which defined this Nation. Is it still so? It would seem not, and ironically it is from efforts to do good—perhaps of a kind that cannot really be done at a price we want to pay—that many of our troubles come.

The questionable good I refer to is the guaranteeing of the results, not just the chance to compete for them, and the price is a degree of social control that can end by changing the nature of a free society.

The belief that everyone is owed something more than freedom to make the most he can of himself is only one aspect of the distortion of the ideal of equality. It is embedded in a context of values which threaten to replace the traditional ones of effort, accomplishment, and self-control; of competing to succeed in achieving some goal for the sake of which one has to work hard and even make sacrifices; of the idea that to live a full life one must care for others—not humanity, just a few real people—more than for one's self, and that this kind of commitment is most appropriately realized in marriage and family life, which means raising children together, with all its pains as well as pleasures.

Disappearing too is the idea that there are certain moral imperatives—rights and wrongs for everyone—and certain loyalties, certain values, that are even worth dying for.

These traditional values—middle class values, if you will—are threatened today by a contempt for the pursuit of excellence and for loyalty, by the belief that rewards should be distributed regardless of effort, by the encouragement of self-expression and self-gratification rather than self-restraint, and by the definition of sexual activity as a kind of sport unrelated to lasting commitment.

If we ask what kind of children we need in a free society, surely the answer is to be found in those traditional aspects of character like conscience and loyalty, the capacity to defer gratification of one's impulses, to work toward the accomplishment of a long-range goal, to empathize with others and to nurture the young, even at some cost to one's self. A free society is one which can do without too many external restraints because it is made up of individuals able and willing to exercise a degree of self-restraint.

I have come to my point. The best means we have of producing such children—the kind we need if ours is to remain a free society—is through the traditional family. Weaken it and we are in trouble.

The reasons lie in the nature of the process by which children develop character. While the various professional child-care experts can be found to disagree on almost everything else, to the great and understandable confusion of parents, one thing that seems indisputable is the crucial role of responsive, consistent care in the earliest years of life. What happens then greatly influences the formation of character and capacities. This crucial role is usually best performed by a child's own parents. It is their right as well as their responsibility. And it is this parental role that shapes the future of our society by shaping its future citizens. The very young learn through imitation and identification, and what behavior they imitate and what values they identify with are what makes the difference between thoughtful caring men and women and self-centered individuals who do not balance a sense of their rights with an awareness of their responsibilities.

Young children need to define themselves in relation to figures both affectionate and authoritative, givers of both love and discipline, who at the same time, and in the same persons, both indulge

and restrict. Without the need and the desire to resolve the tension between the gifts and the demands of parental figures, a child does not internalize their rules, does not develop a conscience, nor therefore the kind of character needed for a free society to survive. For if you are going to have a minimum of external restraints in a society, you will need to have self-restraint on the part of its members, and when you do away with the traditional family structure, with parents who are fond but capable of being firm as well, and with clearly defined differences between genders and between generations; when you give functions to the school that best belong to the home; and when you lead young people to believe that without much education or experience they can have something valuable to say about shaping the institutions of education as well as those of society at large, you shortchange both the young and the old, robbing the young of what they need for authentic growth and robbing the old of the chance to make use of their life's experience. The move away from the traditional family and the dividing up of parental responsibility, a little to the schools, a little to the so-called helping professions, a little to the children themselves, is, I believe, a mistake because it weakens the most effective agency we have for individual development in our culture.

We all go from helpless infancy to mature independence through a series of stages as different in their particulars as they are universal in their sequence. What happens in infancy that in some way determines everything that comes after is the formation of a strong mutually satisfying attachment between the infant and a consistent caregiver in the context of a mutually engaging dialog. Unless he has become attached to someone special enough and important enough to be worth giving up some of his infantile pleasures for, accepting the first restraints of civilization, a child won't develop the capacity for self-restraint he'll need in order to learn later on.

Through a process of identification with his parents' clearly expressed but not violently imposed rules, a child will internalize those rules and make them his own, a part of himself rather than external structures to be followed only when someone is looking.

This is how conscience begins and it begins only when the givers of love and the setters of limits are the same figures. This process requires only the care that most normal people give their own children as a matter of course and without too much thought.

But it is too important to leave to chance strangers, and cannot be done very well by professionals in institutions, by groups of people who come and go in the child's life, or by anyone who is not familiar with the subtle individual ways that child expresses his needs.

The demand for day care for infants and young children of mothers who do not have to leave the home out of economic necessity, so they can "realize themselves" in the job market, is one of the things that threatens to weaken the family. It weakens the connections between its members and robs children of what they need most in those early years.

But restoring the prestige of mothering and of the intact two-parent family is only the beginning. Parents remain crucial in their children's lives, but their influence lessens somewhat when it

comes to be shared with authorities outside the home. And what the all-pervasive media have not done to deemphasize the importance of mothering the very young by telling women almost anything else they can find to do is more important to the world and more fulfilling to themselves, our society takes another crack at in the school years.

The latency years, from about the time a child gets his second set of teeth until reaching puberty, are crucial in their own way. They are a time in which the community has traditionally protected the child from the distractions of sexual arousal that lie just around the corner in order to provide a state of mind conducive to learning, to mastering the skills and becoming acquainted with the ideas children will need in order to take their place as adults in an increasingly complex, demanding, sometimes bewildering world.

If we do not teach the skills to understand our culture and transmit the values to appreciate it, how will it be carried on?

Our schools today seem to be trying to fulfill every kind of need except the basic ones of literacy, ability to reason and solve problems, and acquaintance with the history of our culture, its arts and sciences. They are asked to promote social change, to deal with the individual problems of unsocialized children, and to instruct the young in sex.

The problem with sex education as it is being taught in our schools today is that it is not education but indoctrination. It does not confine itself to what used to be called the facts of life—human biology, the anatomy and physiology of the male and female reproductive systems, and, at an appropriate age, the processes of intercourse, pregnancy and birth—matters which the planners of sex education curricula today scornfully refer to as "the plumbing," but with a store of information and a set of beliefs about sexual behavior that makes it a casual matter, equally acceptable under any circumstances and whatever one's "preferences."

Will you believe me if I tell you that books written and published for schoolchildren explain that sex can be enjoyed not only with members of the same sex—just "different strokes for different folks"—but even with members of other species—hygiene is the only cautionary note introduced here—and inform the young readers that sadomasochism is one of the "preferences" sexual partners may agree on—comparable to having a taste for mushrooms or caviar? It is at least debatable whether public funds should be used by the Government to instruct the young in how to masturbate, how to perform oral sex, how to think about infidelity—it is common, in marriage as well as out, and changing sexual partners is no more a matter of concern than changing jobs—and premarital sex among the young—it improves communication between adolescents. These are not jokes I have written for the occasion, but quotations from texts taken from classroom and school library shelves.

These books and others like them are part of a curriculum in sex education which, along with sensitivity training sessions and values clarification workshops, are funded by the Government through generous grants to a number of organizations like Planned Parenthood and the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States, which contract for teaching materials used in classrooms in virtually every school district today. We are talking about

quite a growth industry. And while programs in sex or "family life" education, which are being introduced into earlier and earlier grades in elementary school, encroach on the responsibilities and prerogatives of parents, they also distract the teachers' attention from the teaching of basic skills.

There is no hard data—only anecdotal evidence—on the effects these programs are having on the children enrolled in family life and sex education courses one way or the other—whether they increase or decrease teenage sexual activity or teenage pregnancy—but it stands to reason that teenagers who are instructed in the varieties of sexual experience in detail, taught to appreciate the manifold possibilities and told not to feel guilty about anything they do, must certainly infer that they are being encouraged to try it as soon as possible. In fact, in "family life and sex education" courses the only thing that is considered wrong or abnormal is feeling guilty.

So we teach our children every attitude about sexual behavior except thoughtfulness and responsibility, remove from it all meaning except the gratification of the moment, tell them it is all right to do whatever feels good. In fact, the only thing they are never told is not to do it, not yet. That would interfere with sexual freedom.

But the new freedom turns out after all just to be the new narcissism. And the lessons not learned in sex education are taught in values clarification, a course of study that makes it clear that all values are equally meaningful—or meaningless—since they are all subjective.

Values clarification teaches one thing: To be sure of your own feelings, of what it is you want. Clarified values stop short with gratification of a rather primitive and immediate nature and never consider that an individual might be gratified by doing right, even at some cost to his appetites.

It is time to challenge the stereotype that represents anyone who raises questions, however thoughtful and articulate, about the current pieties such as the value of sexual "liberation," as necessarily some kind of redneck or sour reactionary. We ought not to be ashamed of our virtues, private or public, of taking some pride in being civilized as well as generous, both as individuals and as a country.

When parents find out what actually goes on in these courses they sometimes do object, feeling that their privacy has been invaded and their prerogatives taken over, but their confidence has been weakened along with their authority. Who wants to be sneered at for being out of step with the times? Who wants to be labeled a reactionary? And surely the experts, the educators, the helping professionals, the newspaper and magazine writers and TV commentators must know best?

Parents who are strong and sure individuals will take a stand against the cheapening and distortion of human experience where they can, but what they deserve from the schools and the media is, if not support, at least less undermining. And what they deserve from Government policymakers is more understanding of the real needs of children and less readiness to use publicly funded programs in ways that weaken the authority of the family and loosen

the ties that bind the generations, the ties on which the persistence of a culture depends, in their efforts to bring about social change, to effect an equality that denies distinctions of all kinds, between the sexes and the generations as well as between degrees of merit and accomplishment.

But even strong parents will find they have their work cut out for them far beyond childhood. Adolescence begins at puberty, and ends presumably when the young adult has consolidated a sense of identity—sexual and vocational—sufficient to result in a commitment.

While puberty is a biological event, adolescence is a social construct, a fairly recent invention designed to do many things from keeping the young out of the labor force to providing a necessarily extended period for learning about the world and one's self. Neither of these tasks of the teenager is made any easier by the attitude taken by the social scientists who encourage, and the media which exploits, the notion that it is the phase-related business of the adolescent to rebel—against himself, his parents, and his society.

Since the adolescent often finds rebellion an easy way out of the harder tasks that face him, he is all too ready to comply and live out the fantasies of the very parents and teachers he is presumably rebelling against. But many careful studies in recent years have shown that the tribulations of highly visible but small numbers of over- and under-privileged youngsters do not represent the average expectable experience of youth in this country, most of whom are more interested in joining the adult world than radically changing it—at least until they can learn more about how it actually works.

What we owe them is a chance to develop in a family with a mother and a father committed to their nurture, schools that transmit the rich culture that is their heritage together with the skills to extend it, and a public policy that does not do away with too much of their freedom to pursue excellence in its zeal for egalitarianism.

[Prepared statement of Rita Kramer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RITA KRAMER, AUTHOR

I am going to start with an apology for beginning my remarks to you today by talking about myself. My only excuse for doing so is the one given by Henry David Thoreau at the beginning of Walden, where he says, "I should not talk so much about myself if there were anybody else whom I knew as well. Unfortunately, I am confined to this theme by the narrowness of my experience."

Of course, like Thoreau before me, I am being a bit less than ingenuous. Like him, I find reason to believe that my own experiences—and my reflections on those experiences—have some general relevance to the situation in which we all find ourselves today. The situation to which I refer is a shifting of values I see as more than the expectable change that comes with time, technology, and thought as every generation succeeds its parents, and as one from which we stand to lose perhaps more than we will gain. Those values now under attack from many quarters are those which shore up the traditional family's authority, give parents the strengths to assert their beliefs while raising their children, and assure the continuity of our society and our civilization. Although I am concerned by this state of affairs, I am not hopeless, because I believe that parents, although beleaguered, are not helpless, and my own experience leads me to some suggestions I would like to share with you here today for how families can be defended from usurpations of their functions by the agencies of government and communications—the state and the media.

I came of age, married and had children in the years after the Second World War, years characterized in this country by a great faith in the future. We had fought a

terrible war but it was one about which we had no ambivalence, and we had won what we perceived as a victory for humanity, for freedom and individual rights over slavery and collective brutalization. We set about doing good abroad—I refer to such unprecedented acts of international altruism as the Marshall Plan and other forms of relief to war-ravaged countries—and reforming our own society at home to an even more unprecedented degree. The society I see around me in the United States today is one which has legislated a greater degree of equality in a shorter time than has ever anywhere been accomplished without revolution and bloodshed, but in one of those paradoxes that are inherent in history, justice has been brought about at a certain cost to freedom. We are now, as individuals, as families, and as a society, at a point where we must think carefully about where we want to go from here.

How should we, as individuals and as a society, raise our children? We are a self-conscious nation, free to ask such questions, and for two hundred years we have been listening to those, from Cotton Mather to Dr. Spock, who are ready to give us the answers. Beyond Dr. Spock we now have various special-interest groupe, various kinds of reformers in government, the media, and the academic world, all seemingly agreed on at least one aspect of social policy—the need to bring about greater equality. To facilitate it and—if that doesn't work fast enough—to require it.

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I think something has gone wrong in the way we interpret equality and that this misunderstanding is affecting the lives children live in their families and in their schools and eventualy, by determining what kinds of adults they become, must have an effect on the nature of our society.

The equality on which the idea of this country was based was intended to mean two things: equality before the law—the same protection granted to all citizens—and equality for each to go as far in any direction as his own capacities and energies, his abilities and ambitions, would take him.

However imperfectly realized, this was the ideal which defined this nation. Is it still go? It would seem not, and ironically it is from efforts top do good-perhaps of a kind that cannot really be done at price we want to pay—that many of our troubles come.

The questionable good I refer to is the quaranteeing of the results, not just the chance to compete for them, and the price is a degree of social control that can end by changing the nature of a free society.

The belief that everyone is owned something more than freedom to make the most he can of himself is only one aspect of the distortion of the ideal of equality. It is embedded in a context of values which threaten to replace the traditional ones of effort, accomplishment, and self-control; of competing to succeed in achieving some goal for the sake of which one has to work hard and even make sacrifices; of the idea that to live a full life one must care for others—not "humanity," just a few real people—more than for one's self and that this kind of commitment is most appropriately realized in marriage and family life—which means raising children together, with all it pains as well as pleasures. Disappearing too is the idea that their are certain moral imperatives—rights and wrongs for everyone—and certain loyalties, certain values, that are even worth dying for.

These traditional values—middle-class values, if you will—are threatened today by a contempt for the pursuit of excellence and for layalty, by the belief that rewards should be distributed regardless of effort, by the enouragement of self-expression and self-gratification rather than self-restraint and by the definition os sexual activity as a kind of sport unrelated to lasting commitment.

If we ask what kind of children we need in a free society, surely the answer is to be found in those traditional aspects of character like conscience and loyalty, the capacity to defer gratifications of one's impulses, to work toward the accomplishment of a long-range goal, to empathize with others and to nurture the young, even at some cost to one's self. A free society is one which can do without to many external restraints because it is make up of individuals able and willing to exercise a degree of self-restraint.

I've come to my point. The best means we have to producing such children—the kind we need if ours is to remain a free society—is through the traditional family. Weaken it, and we're in trouble.

The reasons lie in the nature of the process by which children develop character. While the various professional child-care experts can be found to disagree on almost everything else, to the great and understandable confusion of parents, one thing that seems indisputable is the cruical role of responsive, consistent care in the earliest years of life. What happens they greatly influences the formation of character and capacities. This crucial role is usualy best performed by a child's own parents.

It is their right as well as their responsibility. And it is their parental role that shapes the future of our society by shaping its future citizens. The very young learn through imitation and identification, and what behavior they imitate and what values they identify with are what makes the difference between thoughtful caring men and women and self-centered individuals who do not balance a sense of their rights with an awareness of their responsibilities.

Young children need to define themselves in relation to figures both affectionate and authoritative, givers of both love and discipline, who at the same time, and in the same persons, both indulge and restrict. Without the need and the desire to resolve the tension between the gifts and the demands of parental figures, a child does not internalize their rules, does not develop a conscience, nor therefore the kind of character needed for a free society to survive. For if you are going to have a minimum of external restraints in a society, you will need to have self-restraint on the part of its members, and when you do away with the traditional family structures, with parents who are found but capable of being firm as well, and with clearly defined differences between genders and between generations; when you give functions to the school that best belong to the home; and when you lead young people to believe that without much eduction or experience they can have something valuable to say about shaping the institutions of education as well as those of society at large, you short-change both the young and the old, robbing the young of what they need for authentic growth and robbing the old of the chance to make use of their life's experience. The move away from the traditional family and the dividing up of parental responsibility, a little to the schools, a little to the so-called "helping professions," a little to the children themselves, is, I believe, a mistake, because it weakens the most effective agency we have for individual development in our culture.

We all go from helpless infancy to mature independent through a series of stages as different in their particulars as they as universal in their sequence. What happens in infancy that in some way determines everything that comes after is the formation of a strong mutually satisfying attachment between the infant and a consistent care-giver in the context of a mutually engaing dialogue. Unless he has become attached to someone special enough and important enough to be worth giving up some of his infantile pleasures for, accepting the first restraints of civilization, a child won't develop the capacity for self-restraint he'll need in order to learn later on.

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to deal with the individual problems of unsocialized children, and to instruct the young in sex.

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that weaken the authority of the family and loose the ties that bind the generations—the ties on which the persistence of a culture depends—in their effort to bring about social change, to effect an equality that denies distinctions of all kinds—between the sexes and the generations as well as between degrees of merit and accomplishment.

But even strong parents will find they have their work cut out for them far beyond childhood. Adolescence begins at puberty, and ends presumably when the young adult has consolidated a sense of identity—sexual and vocational—sufficient to result in a commitment. While puberty is a biological event, adolescence is a social construct, a fairly recent invention designed to do many things from keeping the young out of the labor force to providing necessarily extended period for learning about the world and one's self. Neither of these tasks of the teenager is made any easier by the attitude taken by the social scientists who encourage, and the media which exploits, the notion that it is the phase-related business of the adolescent to rebel—against himself, his parents, and his society. Since the adolescent often finds rebellion an easy way out of the harder tasks that face him, he is all too ready to comply and live out the fantasies of the very parents and teachers he is presumably rebelling against. But many careful studies in recent years have shown that the tribulations of highly visible but small numbers of over- and under-privileged youngsters do not represent the average expectable experience of youth in this country, most of whom are more interested in joining the adult world than radically changing it—at least until they can learn more about how it actually works.

What we owe them is a chance to develop in a family with a mother and a father committed to their nurture, schools that transmit the rich culture that is their heritage together with the skills to extend it, and a public policy that doesn't do away with too much of their freedom to pursue excellence in its zeal for egalitarianism.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Dr. Williams.

STATEMENT OF DR. WALTER WILLIAMS, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY, VA.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Gentlemen, my comments will be very short, and you do not have them for the record, and I have made some notes.

I think, first of all, we need to look at our problem for what it is. Our problem in America is that you men, Congressmen, are elected to office and you retain that office through promising that you will use the powers of your office to confiscate that which is the property of one American and give it to another American to whom it does not belong. Or you promise one American that you will confer upon him a privilege that will be denied another American. In my opinion, H. L. Mencken was quite right when he described an election as an advance auction of the sale of stolen property.

Now, the characterization of our problem this way should not be construed as a personal attack on the Members of Congress, because it is we, that is the people, who are to blame, because we give you the incentive structure that conducts and controls your behavior.

Now, through this process of what I call legalized plunder, there are some unanticipated side effects, which is the subject of these hearings on children, youth, and the family. First, let us look at inflation, which is no less than Government theft. When I was a child my mother taught me that when you earn $2, perhaps very much like Mickey Leland's mother told him, that when you earn $2, save $1. And I am sure it is these kinds of lessons that allowed me to get out of the ghettos.

But I cannot teach my daughter, my young daughter, the same lesson, because she will say to me: Well, daddy, if I save a dollar it will be a nice 90 cents at the end of the year, and then the IRS is

going to take some of that. So it pays her to spend as fast as possible.

That is what inflation does. It causes people to be more now-oriented, rather than future oriented, and that is one of the problems that we are beginning to see with our young people. It makes people spendthrifty and attacks the value of thrift.

Inflation and expectations of inflation give rise to high interest rates. Now, economists translate high interest rates as meaning the future is not worth very much, so that therefore you do not become future-oriented, you become more now-oriented. And of course, that is what we see happening in the United States.

Another impact of Government programs on the family are its many laws regulating economic activity. One set of these laws which I have done a lot of research in are the labor laws. The minimum wage law is one prime example. It has destroyed many opportunities for teenage employment, particularly the most disadvantaged teenager, being the black teenager. It has effectively priced him out of the market.

Again, let me refer back to a personal example. Back in the late forties, early fifties, when I was a kid, I shoveled snow from the Reading Railroad platforms and washed dishes and bussed tables at Horn & Hardart's, delivered mail during the Christmas holidays, worked at Sears packing boxes, picked blueberries, swept supermarket floors.

Now, obviously these jobs helped make ends meet. But more important than the little bit of money that I got from these jobs was the self-respect and pride that I got from being financially semi-independent. I learned how to find a job in the first place, I learned you could not spit in the foreman's face and still keep your job.

So there are a lot of things that kids can get from early work experiences which are denied them by numerous labor laws. Now, I go back to my neighborhood today. Those kids, in so-called racially enlightened times, they do not have the opportunities for upward mobility that I had. Congress has legislated them out of jobs through minimum wage laws and labor laws and special privileges.

For example, kids cannot sweep supermarkets in many cities any more, and that is because Congress has given labor unions the power to tell a supermarket owner, either you hire the members of our union or you get no labor at all. And a 14-year-old kid cannot be a member of the Retail Clerks Union.

Now, the sad fact of business about kids, teenagers, is that they are ideal people to dump on. That is, they have very little political clout. That is, after all, how many Congressmen, how many of you owe your office to the teenage vote? But many Congressmen do, on the other hand, owe their office to the union vote. So it is a matter of looking at the bottom line in many respects.

Other Government attacks on family institutions include programs which encourages children to abandon their aging parents. After all, with the massive handout programs many young people might say, why should I honor my mother and father when I can get somebody else to, through the Government programs.

Another Government attack on family institutions is the discriminatory tax system which encourage couples to shack up rather than to marry, or the Government sponsorship—another attack on

family and undermining of family is the Government sponsorship of contraceptives to minor children with neither parental knowledge or permission.

Perhaps another thing you will see on the horizon as a result of Government programs is older people who have been married all their life, it may pay them to get divorced shortly before they receive their social security check, because they may stand to gain from that.

Essentially, what we are witnessing in the United States is a nationalization of the family. We hear people talking about the high illegitimacy rate. Well, this is no mystery. It is not an act of God. That is, when you lower the cost of a woman having an illegitimate child you expect far more illegitimate children.

And the sad state of affairs for black children is that 55 or so percent of black children are born out of wedlock, very often to teenage mothers. And you hear many people talk about, as was mentioned a little bit earlier here, about the infant mortality rate among blacks, and there perhaps was an illusion that it may reflect racial discrimination in our society. I think that is so much nonsense. That is, the infant mortality rate of babies born to 14-year-old women happens to be higher than the infant mortality rate of fully mature women who have babies when they are 25 years old.

Education of our youngsters is a national disgrace. Among the findings of the President's National Commission on Educational Excellence is that 13 percent of all 17-year-olds in our country are functionally illiterate, 40 percent of black 17-year-olds are functionally illiterate. This can hardly be said to be the result of a so-called Reagan budget cut.

The decline in education in the United States came in the face of unprecedented Federal, State, and local expenditures on education. The solution to the problem will not lie in even greater expenditures on education. The solution to the problem lies in stripping the education establishment of its monopoly power and eliminating its Government lobby arm, namely the U.S. Department of Education.

When I talk about reorganization, we have to introduce accountability into the system. Teachers get paid and they receive raises whether kids can read and write or not. Administrators in school districts, they get paid and receive raises whether kids can read and write or not. And sadly enough, many kids get their diploma whether they can read and write or not.

The delivery of education in the United States needs to be reorganized so that parents can have a greater choice, rather than being held captive by the educational monopoly. The best way to provide for this I believe is through educational vouchers, and less effective, though superior to the status quo, is the President's proposed tuition tax credit.

Now, if Congress will not dismantle the Department of Education, it could at least mandate that the Department of Education cease abetting fraud on the taxpayers. For example, you might declare it illegal for the Department of Education to give money to schools which lie about their children, their student certification, that is grant fraudulent degrees, that is, give a kid a degree that

means that—at least on the face of it, he can read and write at the 12th grade level, and when the kid cannot read and write at the fourth or fifth grade level.

Basically, in conclusion, there is a Negro play titled "Green Pastures." In it God says to the Angel Gabriel, somewhere in the play God says: "Every time I passes a miracle, I has to pass four or five more to catch up with it."

Now, I think that is an insightful description of the problem of Government. That is, you Congressmen, you create a special advantage for one American, that causes a special disadvantage for another American. Then you try to maybe help that American that you have already caused the disadvantage. You try to give him a special privilege, and that causes a disadvantage for another American. And it goes on and on.

So in conclusion, my modest request or my modest proposal for the solution of many of our problems, not only those of the family and children and youth, is that we have to recognize that Congress cannot create a miracle. So it ought to get out of the miracle-making business.

Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Congressman Marriott.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Thank you.

Dr. Williams, you have said some interesting things and probably some of the folks up here are a little uneasy, but I think you have said some very true things. You indicated that one reason we have so many problems with so many babies born into poverty is because there is a pattern of illegitimacy which then leads to these other problems.

How do we in our society correct that? Are not sexually active children going to be sexually active, regardless of what government does or does not do? Or is there a way to head this off?

Are television and government activities popularizing these things and putting ideas in the heads of kids, or are they coming naturally? I guess my point is, what do you think we ought to do, to change this, if this in fact is a cause of some of our problems?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, first of all, I think one of the things that we recognize is that so far as blacks are concerned, I think that the racial discrimination bogeyman has been overworked. And that is not to say there is not racial discrimination. There is plenty of racial discrimination in our society. There is all kinds of discrimination.

But blacks had back in 1940 an illegitimacy rate around 8 or 9 percent, and it is much more than that now. So we say, well, what happened in the interim? Well, surely one of the things that happened is the cost of having illegitimate children has gone down. That is, it costs less. That is, back in 1940 or 1920, whatever the case may be, a kid 13, 14 years old, if she had an illegitimate child, I do not believe she was eligible for aid to families with dependent children.

I do not believe things were made as comfortable for her. I believe that there was far more ostracizing of the kid who had a child out of wedlock. I remember when I was growing up a kid, let us say a girl got pregnant—we called it "knocked up" in those days—she

was sent down South or sent to live with her relatives because she was an embarrassment to the family.

Nowadays, kids get pregnant, they continue to go to school, and so there is a lower overall cost for engaging in that kind of behavior. Now, there might be some spiritual reasons for this, but an economist, when he evaluates things, he asks, well, if there is a difference, has there been a change in the cost structure—that is, when you lower the cost of doing something, people generally do more of it. When you raise the cost of doing something, people generally do less of it.

So I would look for where the costs have changed.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Leland.

Mr. LELAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Williams, I do not agree with anything you have said and I am really disappointed in the gentleman from Utah, in his overture that there might be more promiscuity in the black community causing these problems that you have alluded to than in any other community.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not say that.

Mr. LELAND. I realize you did not say that, but the gentleman from Utah said that. And it really upsets me. I do not think that there is any more promiscuity in the black community than in any other community.

I realize that we are here to address problems dealing with families, youth, and children, but one of the problems might be, and your implication is that, indeed, Members of Congress might be very, very ignorant of what is going on in our communities around the country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, you are.

Mr. LELAND. Particularly as relating to the problems of ethnic minorities. I think that we might want to—I do not know if you agree with me or not, and obviously on principle you do not agree with me on most of anything.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. LELAND. I would be very happy to yield.

Mr. MARRIOTT. The gentleman from Utah did not in any way mean to infer there was more promiscuity in the black community. I was simply making the point that there is in fact a great deal of promiscuity, and some of the problems that we face today in our society have to be a result of that promiscuity. That was the point. It was not intended to be——

Mr. LELAND. I understand. It upset this member very much, because what I heard the gentleman from Utah say was that the reason there were many problems that we were talking about in the black community is because there is a high degree of promiscuity. And I think if the gentleman would research the record in regard to what he said, he will read the same thing that I heard.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Well, if that was the case, Mr. Chairman, I would like to correct the record to indicate that the point to be made is that there is a great deal of promiscuity. We were simply talking with this witness about his concerns in the black community, and I assume there is as much problem in that community as there is in any other community.

Mr. LELAND. Well, I certainly appreciate that and I appreciate the correction.

Chairman MILLER. The gentleman will be able to correct the record.

[The preceding remarks were amended by Cong. Dan Marriott.]

Mr. LELAND. Dr. Williams, you are an expert, obviously, on problems in the black community as they relate to economics. You stated that there is a problem in the illegitimacy rate of children, that they are conceived because there is a lesser cost to families.

Let me just ask you, is that a fact? Is that true, that there is some kind of lessening of cost for people to bear children in the black community?

Mr. WILLIAMS. To the extent that if you are a single parent, a parent without a father, and you get food stamps, you get housing subsidies, and you get AFDC payments, that lowers the cost. Now, whether it lowers it relative to whites is a different question. I am not quite sure of the answer to that question.

Mr. LELAND. Why would you want to pick on black people? Why would you suggest that black people are an isolated case?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I stated that the black illegitimacy rate is nearly 55 percent nationally. That is what I stated. I did not state that it was a problem only of the black community.

Mr. LELAND. But you talked about the cause. You were saying that the black illegitimacy rate resulted because there is a lessening of costs. Do you understand that there are indeed more numerically white people on those Federal subsidies than there are black people in this country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understand that very well, Congressman. But what I am saying, I am saying that I made a general case for illegitimacy. When the cost of illegitimacy goes down, even for purple people, there will be more of it.

Mr. LELAND. Are you aware of the fact that indeed if we look at the abortion rate in this country that probably more white people have abortions than are black people, thus indicating to some extent a statistical imbalance in what you call the illegitimacy rate?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, there are many factors that may cause that, such as not having abortion. But we are still stating that there is a 55-percent illegitimacy rate, and the bottom line is that is a hell of a startoff on life.

Mr. LELAND. Why do you want to pick on black people? I do not understand it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Some of my best friends are black, so I am not picking on black people. I am trying to solve the problems of black people, to solve the problems of black people and Americans in general.

Mr. LELAND. So you do not want to provide the black people the subsidies they so vitally need. Do not provide them day care, do not provide them with——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Did I say that?

Mr. LELAND [continuing]. With subsidies for lunch programs or breakfast programs.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Did I say that?

Mr. LELAND. Yes, you did.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not say that.

Mr. LELAND. Tell me what you said. I apologize if you did not say that or infer that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know whether you can read my mind, but I did not state that.

Mr. LELAND. This gentleman is replying in question to the statements that you have said previously on record to this committee.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Today?

Mr. LELAND. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And what is your question, again?

Mr. LELAND. Well, you are saying that if in fact Government subsidies are causing people to be—or to have illegitimate children in the black community, because in fact it makes it cheaper for people to have more children—which I quarrel with violently—then in fact you are admitting to the fact that Government subsidies are the cause of illegitimacy in the black community.

Now, how can you arrive at that conclusion?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It very well may be. I am saying, if you lower the cost, you look at the mechanism that lowers the cost of illegitimacy, and if indeed it is Government subsidies, well indeed yes, it is Government subsidies.

Now, what it raises is a question, and that is: If you are going to help people, then you have to find out whether you can help them in a way that you do not hurt them, that you do not make them worse off or make that condition permanent. Now, that does not say—that does not say that I am for seeing starving children who happen to be born to teenage mothers.

But all I am saying is that when you set out to help somebody you have to say, well, how much or what is the influence of my help to that person on the person's own incentives to help themselves? Now, that goes white people and it goes for black people.

Mr. LELAND. So then, why would you isolate the black people in your testimony? That is what I cannot understand.

You are trying to answer questions that I think are unanswerable, particularly when you deal with the question of poverty.

It seems to me that as far as you are concerned, at least as evidenced by your expert testimony, black people have not been affected or are less affected by racial discrimination and economic deprivation than what we are saying in Congress, that is, those of us who understand and have some empathy for black people. You apparently disagree when we suggest that because of historical deprivation, because of racial discrimination, black people have not been educated to the extent necessary to afford them opportunities for prenatal care, for postnatal care, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, if you hold that point of view you are absolutely wrong. And you are also wrong with respect to some of the remarks that you made a little earlier. You said that, for example, you did not agree with anything I said.

Now, I said, part of my testimony said, that part of the problem in the United States, and which is a big problem of blacks, is that you Congressmen are in the business of conferring special privileges on some American persons and denying them to others. Now, you said you disagree with that.

Mr. LELAND. I do disagree.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, what you do—I will give you an explicit example. What you as Congressmen do, you tell one American citizen through the ICC that you can drive a truck along the highways of the United States, and you over there, you cannot. That is the kind of special privilege granting that you do.

You tell one group of Americans that we will give you a license to do some kind of activity, we will give you authorization. To another American you say, and you will be denied that privilege.

Now, that has a differential impact on blacks. That is, when blacks became urbanized all these rules were in place that Congress, and local governments, and State governments erected, so that there was not open opportunity for blacks as there was for other immigrant groups when they became urbanized.

And that is precisely what Congress is in the business of doing. It is conferring privileges on one American and denying them to other Americans. And it is not simply that, you are proposing or many Congressmen have proposed that we take a dollar from one man, using the IRS to confiscate his dollar, and give it to another person.

Mr. LELAND. This country——

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is what in fact you do. Now, whether you think it is for good or for evil, that is in fact what you do.

Mr. LELAND. If I might, Mr. Chairman—and I am totally disoriented with the testimony, but let me say to you, very calmly if I can, I think we have opposite ideologies. My point is that this country was built on the Judeo-Christian philosophy that, indeed, we should bestow charity on those people who, indeed, could not provide for themselves. Benevolency cannot be rendered without any kind of subsidy, rendered by the cost of those things that are costly in this society.

And thus Congress has to come to the aid of those people who cannot provide for themselves. That is the only way that blacks, and Hispanics, and women have been able to afford opportunities today in this country to date. There is a reversal of the process, we realize, with a new philosophy implemented by this administration.

But at the same time, we cannot ignore the progress that has been made since in fact that kind of charity was manifested by the laws and the subsidies of tax dollars in the area of education, medicaid, and medicare, housing and nutritional opportunities for young people who could not afford to eat.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, look, you are playing games with words. We are not bestowing any charity. The IRS does not ask me, please give them some money. They say: Damn it, Williams, you give me money. That is not charity.

Mr. LELAND. I never thought I would say this, but thank God for the IRS.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is not charity; that is legalized plunder.

Mr. LELAND. I yield the balance of my time, Mr. Chairman. [Laughter.]

Mr. MARRIOTT. What I was trying to arrive at earlier was simply that one of the things we are trying to do in this committee is to develop accurate information and an accurate data base. And the question I was raising before we got into this was, does in fact the increasing incidence of teenage sexual activity result in additional

costs to society. And I think the answer is yes, whether it is black, or white, or whatever, and we can take that other point up later.

But I would like to ask, if I could, Dr. Nicholi and Mrs. Kramer if they might respond on the real effects of television and whether or not there is any evidence that you see out there that television does, indeed, cause a change in moral values or does, indeed, lead to crime and those types of things.

A lot of kids watch TV. I watch a lot of TV. I know my children watch a lot of TV. I wonder if you could just comment, do we have any real evidence that television in fact leads to some of these other problems that we have talked about? Mrs. Kramer, do you want to respond?

Mrs. KRAMER. Well, I think there is a great difference between you watching television and your children watching television, and the difference is that a grownup is better able to assess what he sees. Children when they watch television are having their time and energy displaced from other kinds of things that they need in order to grow up.

But my greatest objection to television actually is not the nature and substance of the programing, which I find deplorable enough, but the nature of the activity itself. It is a totally passive activity. Little kids sit like catatonics in front of the television set, instead of using their minds, their imagination, their bodies, their capacity to relate to other people.

I think that the greatest harm it does is when it is used, let us say, as a babysitter. It keeps a kid quiet, but it keeps him at the same time from maybe learning something by quarreling with his brother or getting under his mother's feet and having to work out those relationships.

The only way I would think that television watching is harmless for children is when they are doing it with their parents and discussing what is going on, because I think the only way small children learn anything is in the context of a relationship with adults.

I would just like to add that there are a number of studies—I do not have them at my fingertips, but I can provide the documentation—that show that even the much vaunted results of programs like Sesame Street, designed to educate children who are otherwise presumably not getting enough stimulation, prove not to be really functions of the television programs at all, but of the involvement with adults in the activity, in watching and talking about it; and that whatever short-term results there are seem to be are not lasting.

Dr. NICHOLI. I would tend to agree with that. I think the most damaging effects of television that we have observed thus far is that it interferes with what I have tried to convey was so important in human development in my testimony, and that is that it is the interaction between parents and children, between human beings with one another, that makes human beings human. And the television set interferes with that process.

If you walk into a home today, the lights are dimmed and there are dark forms that are sitting in the darkness, and the interaction is between the set usually and the individuals, rather than between the individuals. I think that that is perhaps the most damaging effect of it.

I think that that is only one of many, many things that interferes with that all-important interaction, and that I think contributes significantly to the divorce rate and to the kinds of emotional problems we find in children today.

I think the television set also reflects the kind of moral confusion that our society is in generally, and therefore certainly does not in most instances help a person to develop a moral sense or more moral convictions in terms of how to conduct his life.

Mr. MARRIOTT. One last question. Is there any hard data, hard facts, that working mothers—the fact that women work outside the home really leads to more problems with the children? Does it really depend on the mother and the home and other circumstances?

Can you draw any conclusions that these women who have to work to maintain the home, that that in fact does result in any significant problems for kids? We had a number of children here today that were children of one-parent families and they seem to be perfectly fine and leaders. And yet, we hear the general consensus that the working mothers, that they have to work for economic reasons, and that leads to a lot of other problems and so forth.

Can you just address that? Do you have any hard data on that issue?

Mrs. KRAMER. I would like to say that what makes the difference in the child's life is the nature of parenting, the kind of relationship, the kind of care the child gets. Now, a kid knows the difference between a mother who has to work, like Congressman Leland's mother or my mother, and a mother who has to work because she is out to realize herself, because that is the voice that she hears in the culture.

I think that you have to distinguish between the possible effects on a child of having a mother who is not there because she cannot be there, and he knows it and the mother knows it, but who is present emotionally in his life and makes it clear what her expectations are and a mother who has chosen not to be there caring for him.

The other thing is that it matters very much who takes care of a child in the very early years of life. That really, as I tried to say in my testimony, determines a great deal about how that child will respond to the world and other people later on, and I think that efforts should be made by policymakers to encourage, rather than to discourage, the presence of mothers of very young children in their lives where possible.

Chairman MILLER. Will the gentleman yield?

In part this question asked, is there really hard data on different affects on children raised by mothers who want to realize themselves and mothers who have to work?

Mrs. KRAMER. Yes; I forgot—there was something I wanted to say specifically to that point, and that is that I do not want to be disrespectful to the question; I only want to be somewhat disrespectful toward hard data in the social sciences. I think that research in the social sciences tends to be more social than scientific.

Most studies in the social sciences today are adversarial. They are designed to demonstrate something, rather than really find out what something is about. You can find studies that will show

almost anything that you want to show, many of them funded by the Government.

Chairman MILLER. But your conclusion is that the child knows the difference between a mother who wants to realize herself and a child whose mother has to work out of necessity?

Mrs. KRAMER. What I mean to say is that I am inferring from a body of knowledge that I think we are all drawing on here about how children learn and develop, which I think probably has more to teach us about what is important in children's lives and what causes what effects, than many statistical studies which simply deal with what can be measured, isolating it from the complex variables of human behavior and psychological response.

Chairman MILLER. Are you not at the same time inferring a whole set of attributes to a class of people generally, without knowing the individual set of circumstances in that home, in that family?

Mrs. KRAMER. I do not mean to, because every family is different and every individual is different. But I would only say that I would infer from what we know about the mental and emotional lives of children that it would make a difference to them to feel that their mother preferred to work than to know that she had to work.

Chairman MILLER. Aren't you stating conclusions about a class without stating the basis from which those conclusions are derived.

Mrs. KRAMER. I am not clear what you mean by a class.

Chairman MILLER. Well, a class of women who decide to work to realize themselves, a class of women who choose to work rather than work out of necessity. You are attributing attributes to that family, without knowing whether or not that choice was successful for that family, for all of the things you wanted them to be successful for.

I'm merely pointing out that amounts to a blanket statement about those classes.

Mrs. KRAMER. Yes, I cannot tell you that there is one specific study that shows you that.

Chairman MILLER. I just want to know the basis upon which that conclusion is arrived at. If that is your opinion, that is one thing. We ought to know that is your opinion. If it is a question of fact, fine. One is not necessarily more valuable than the other. It is just important that we know the basis upon which the statement is made.

Mrs. KRAMER. The statement is an inference based on what we know about child development, some of which I have tried to summarize here. And it is gone into in much more detail in the book that was given to you. Those clinical and longitudinal observations about how children grow and what is important for their development and for the acquisition of character are really the kinds of data—rather than studies which isolate specific measurable attributes of human behavior—from which I think we have the most to learn about child development, which has more to do with identifications and attachments than these externals that are measured.

Chairman MILLER. I get the sense, Dr. Nicholi, you want to comment on this. But I also want to recognize Congresswoman Johnson.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Thank you.

I just wanted to say one point before we go on. Would it not be just as accurate to infer from the body of information that you have presented that there is a difference in those families where the employed female values the work she is doing, and that the quality of the child's experience would be a function of the relationship between the female and her work and the value she attaches to it in a positive sense, whether it is for economic or whether it is cause-related or whatever, and her ability to make that value clear to her child, as well the nature of the quality of the time that she spends with the child?

Mrs. KRAMER. I must make clear that I am talking about very young children, in the first 2 or 3 years of life. They are incapable of having any concept of the importance of the work their mother does. They only know if she is there or not.

"Quality time" does not apply, either, if you are talking about very young children. The thing is being there as they change and grow, meeting their daily needs.

Mrs. JOHNSON. One moment. Do you think that a child at that age is able to differentiate between the nature of the employment of the mother?

Mrs. KRAMER. No, I am saying that it is not.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Do you think the child is able to sense the difference between the woman who is attached to her employment for economic survival and the woman who is attached to her employment for psychological survival, if you will?

Mrs. KRAMER. No. I was talking about older children, who would be able to realize that. That was in another context. I want to make it clear that I am aware of the problems of the many women who do have to work.

And when I suggest that women stay home with their small children, I am of course addressing myself to women who have the option. We have to find other ways to help women who do not. That is another question.

Chairman MILLER. How does a child feel about the mother who goes out and donates time to the Red Cross?

Mrs. KRAMER. A very young child would also find her an absent mother. I would not recommend it.

Chairman MILLER. But it would not necessarily decide whether the woman was realizing her self-worth.

Dr. Nicholi, you wanted to comment?

Dr. NICHOLI. Well, perhaps the real issue in all of this, I think human behavior is too complex to really pinpoint answers to some of the questions you raise. It seems to me that perhaps the most important thing is whether or not the mother sees her role as a mother as important and significant, and somehow that gets conveyed if the mother or the father does not value that role.

I think that gets conveyed and they are not emotionally accessible to their child, even though they are there all the time. And the child experiences that as rejection and anger.

As far as the data—hard data—we do have a lot of research data that does indicate that parents—or children from homes with one or both parents missing do have a much higher incidence of various kinds of emotional disorder.

Chairman MILLER. Granted. It may be that the lowest common denominator in this discussion is whether or not the parents want that relationship, value that relationship, and are willing to transfer that warmth and caring to the children in the family. If that happens, you can perhaps predict things about the impact of external forces on that family structure, whether it is TV, whether it is leisure time, or video coin machines, or sex education, or schools.

What we know about the core relationship in that family seems to me the key, and what you have pointed out. As you find parents who drift away from valuing that relationship with their children, who disappear or lose interest or spend low-quality time with the child, that then these other factors start to take on greater importance.

Dr. NICHOLI. The point that I am making, Mr. Chairman, too, is that I think that there are all kinds of trends in our society and most of our institutions that encourage the one and discourage the other. And I think we need kind of a revolution in our thinking in order to reverse some of these trends that are causing what we have been talking about.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Coats.

Mr. COATS. Dr. Nicholi, is it not also true that a mother or a father can be home every second of every day and still be absent from the child?

Dr. NICHOLI. Yes, that is true, and I can understand where your question is coming from, because I know that people in Congress, like those of us in the professions, are bothered by not being there very much. And I think that it is true that when one is there it is important that one is there fully and completely. That is, you can be there physically and still be absent emotionally.

Mr. COATS. So it is not just a measurement of time spent.

Mr. NICHOLI. It is not a measurement of time spent. But I think that, like the Congresswoman that asked about quality of time, that it is like the air that we breathe. We certainly need quality of air, but unless we have a minimum quantity we are not going to survive. And when we are talking about very young children and their parents, especially their mother, we are talking about that minimum of quantity that is vital.

Mr. COATS. You referred throughout your paper and your presentation to emotional absence. Can you give us some examples or some characteristics of what you mean by emotional absence of the father?

Dr. NICHOLI. Yes. I think that when a father is there, if he is preoccupied with his work he usually does not hear what his children are trying to say to him, or often what his wife is trying to say to him. People live together for a long period of time and when they come to see me as a professional they will often communicate with one another and hear one another for the first time things that they have been saying for 10 or 15 years.

So that there is something about not being there emotionally, even between parents or between adults, that I think is very important and a very critical part of what is happening in the deterioration of our families and causing divorce. Also being there with our children, I think that we can be there physically and not listen to them where we are telling them what to do, or else we may be

there but preoccupied with other things, that we are not emotionally involved with them.

Mr. COATS. You are saying that, even though death and divorce have the most profound impacts on children emotional absence is also significant.

Dr. NICHOLI. I think that is very true.

Mr. COATS. Is that a measurable impact in terms of the behavioral characteristics that you describe?

Dr. NICHOLI. It certainly is measurable clinically in the families that we see in the homes of the individuals that we deal with. We think that there is a great deal happening in our society that is kind of anti-family, where careers and self-fulfillment is given the highest priority. And although I suppose this is very important, I think all of our institutions seem to foster that at the expense of the family that is out there, that is kind of a necessary evil that we give time to and then get back to what is really important.

This is certainly done in the medical profession, in our medical schools and hospitals.

Mr. COATS. Dr. Brazelton spoke this morning about touching and nurturing of the just-born child. You have talked also about close, warm, sustained, and continuous relationships, which I assume would include touching and nurturing.

Dr. NICHOLI. Absolutely. With the newborn, of course, the only real way we have of being involved with them is touching them and holding them. I mean, we cannot very well carry on a conversation with them.

Mr. COATS. But you do not see that necessarily ending or stopping at a certain age?

Dr. NICHOLI. Absolutely not. I take great pride in the fact that my 18-year-old son would throw his arms around me when he sees me for the first time.

Mr. COATS. What do we do with the millions of children who are not part of the family unit, therefore are not receiving that attention?

We must recognize that millions of children only have one parent or have absent parents. How do we provide that important nurturing to them? What kinds of alternatives can we look at?

Dr. NICHOLI. I think one thing this committee can do that can be enormously important in dealing with this, and that is that we need to understand what it is that helps some people come through this experience, some children, without being scarred and why other people are so badly scarred by it. We may find that one-parent families have other kinds of surrogates—grandparents or people in the neighborhood that step in and take the role of the missing parent.

Mr. COATS. Have any studies been done on that?

Dr. NICHOLI. I am not aware of them. I do not think that we refined our understanding that much.

One of the things in building a data base I would think would be to support research that would explore that and find out how we can help these mothers that are burdened with supporting, with the economic support of the family, and also with the emotional support, providing the support, having to provide the support of

both the mother and the missing father. I think that is something that would be enormously helpful.

Mr. COATS. Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Mrs. Kramer, I understand you have an airplane to catch, and we want to thank you very much for coming today.

Mrs. KRAMER. Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Before you leave, I want to thank you very much for your testimony today. I will read your testimony in its entirety again. I also plan to read your book, and after I have finished it I would like the opportunity to write and comment about it.

Mrs. KRAMER. Thank you so much.

Mr. WOLF. I want to follow up, please, on something you alluded to. It seems to me that divorce is the biggest issue as this is the major point that your statement concentrated on.

You make a recommendation on page 8 that the Government must encourage and sponsor research into the causes of divorce. What do you have in mind there? Do you suppose that the Government should do it or that the Government support private research?

Dr. NICHOLI. Well, I think that it needs to be done, but I do not think that we really understand why people are breaking up at such a rapid rate, why it has been accelerating. We really do not understand what is happening and why it began to accelerate in the early sixties and then shot almost straight up through the late sixties and early seventies.

There are a lot of myths about being single again and about divorce. There is a kind of lower tolerance for stress, I think, in our society. When you talk to people, this huge segment of our society that takes psychoactive drugs, it is almost always to reduce feelings of stress, psychological stress.

But when stress comes up in a relationship—and it comes up even in the most ideal relationships, as all of us know—people, rather than try to work it out, just run away from it, or feel that they do not have to put up with it and feel that they can start over again.

I think there needs to be some re-education in this area. I think that once people get into trouble, it immediately becomes an adversarial situation, so people often get caught up in divorce even when they are not often sure they want it. And even a year afterward, as some studies have shown, a great number of people feel that it has been a mistake.

And I wonder if there is not some way that we could at least slow the process down so that people can really think about whether or not it is in their best interests and it is what they really want.

Mr. WOLF. Who would you recommend do that, work on that and make that study? Somebody who is a liberal Democrat or somebody who is a conservative Republican or somebody who really is not anything, is a moderate? What one group or agency or what place could we go?

Dr. NICHOLI. One of the things that surprised me when I came to this——

Mr. WOLF. I'm suggesting we need someone that everybody can have confidence in. A lot of the witnesses who are going to testify throughout the next year are going to step on toes. Some of them are going to object to what I believe in to be right and some will oppose the beliefs of other members on this committee.

Who would you recommend to really look into this, so that all of us, if that is possible, could believe in, and have confidence in the report?

Chairman MILLER. I cannot wait for your answer. [Laughter.]

Dr. NICHOLI. I was going to say that I was hoping a committee like this, because you are dealing with something that is so vitally important to all of us. I mean, all of us spend the most significant parts of our lives within the family, and I do not understand how this can be discussed in partisan terms. I mean, why can you not work together on this?

Mr. WOLF. Well, I think we can.

Dr. NICHOLI. Put it outside of a political setting. As a physician, I am puzzled by it.

Mr. WOLF. I am sure we all will. But as we all know, when studies are completed, people base the quality on the reputation of an institution, the reputation of the Government agency or the credentials of the individual. For exemple, does he have a Ph. D. or did he graduate from college? People do base judgments on such things and it is important that whoever did do work on such a major study carries the credibility that George Miller, and Frank Wolf and five other people from different perspectives can say, that makes sense, and reconcile differences of opinions and support the recommendations.

I think we will make an effort, but I am looking for guidance. Is it the National Institute of Health? Should we farm out to several groups? Do you have some religious factors involved?

Dr. NICHOLI. I am not ducking that question, but it is very difficult for me to pin a particular body down. Certainly the National Institutes of Health would be ideal, but I think that it needs to be multidisciplined, with many different disciplines, because there are so many facets to the problem and I think it should be getting the most qualified people and certainly the best people in various disciplines to explore this on a nationwide basis.

Mr. WOLF. One other question, maybe for both Dr. Williams and youself. Do you agree that we should also be studying the well family, if that is an appropriate term, the family that is really not having any problems. Shouldn't we study what they are doing right, so we can telegraph to the world that if you do certain things and act in certain ways it is going to be better than if you do not?

Should we study not only the problem areas, but the good areas?

Dr. NICHOLI. I would say yes, absolutely. We need to know what it is that holds families together, what it is that comprises healthy, strong families, and see if we can come up with common denominators there so that we can help the rest of the population.

Mr. WOLF. Are there any studies available today which make any conclusions about healthy, strong families?

Dr. NICHOLI. No, but there are lots of comments made that this is what ought to be done.

Mr. WOLF. I believe that this committee should study all of the problem areas which includes health examples and adults who carry the psychological burdens of disruptive childhood situations with them today and who can obviously no longer benefit from pre- or postnatal care. We must study the entire scope of problematic circumstances and utilize this knowledge for today's old and young alike and for future generations. I urge the committee to use this approach and making policy recommendations.

Finally, Dr. Williams, I do not know whether or not you live in my congressional district. I know you work at George Mason University, which is my district. You may be interested to know that I was born and raised in southwest Philadelphia, and I appreciate the basis for a lot of your comments.

Thank you, and thank you both for coming.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I do not live in your district.

Mr. WOLF. I think you would have voted for me if you did. [Laughter.]

Chairman MILLER. I do not think we should leave the suggestion here that the single parent family is somehow evil.

It is possible to raise healthy children, is it not, and to have a healthy relationship with that child, although it may be more difficult, given just the economics? But isn't it possible in that circumstance to have a healthy relationship?

Dr. NICHOLI. Absolutely. I guess, Mr. Chairman, you were not here during the conclusion of my testimony. But I think that the vast body of information we have—and it is data that has been collected over the past 30 or 40 years—tells us that the emotional health of a child rests most heavily upon a close, warm, sustained relationship with both parents, and when one parent is missing, that can make a child more vulnerable to various kinds of problems.

That does not mean that—many children have lost both parents through death and have come out of it relatively unscathed, and we do not understand why that is. But we know that when they do lose a parent, that does make them at higher risk.

Chairman MILLER. I am not questioning that at all. I just do not want us to, in the first day of hearing, leave the impression that somehow this is an evil institution. It is a fact of life and the question is, what do we do to strengthen it and take away some of those vulnerabilities?

Dr. NICHOLI. I do not think we can talk about these things in terms of blame or that one situation is bad. We need to be aware of the data and to act accordingly.

Mr. WOLF. Would the gentleman yield?

Chairman MILLER. Yes.

Mr. WOLF. I agree that a single parent can responsibly carry out the job of raising children. As Congressmen, we are often removed from our families and the situation lends itself to a single-parent family description. I know this from my own experiences. Perhaps the situation is better when only one parent is available on a high quantity-quality allowance. We need to look at all these factors.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much, both of you, for spending the afternoon with us and giving us the benefit of your testimony. And again, I hope that members of the committee have enjoyed today and have learned what this committee will concern itself with in the months ahead.

[Whereupon, at 4:25 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Dear Members of Congress,

I think air pollution is a problem because all people have a right to clean air which they are not getting. Air pollution can make people sick. It can also temporarily block sunlight, killing plants and leaves on trees.

I would also like something to be done about water pollution. I feel this way because all life is dependent on water. If all of our water should become polluted some of these things could happen:

1. Fish would die off causing famine. Infected fish could harm many people, if eaten.
2. There would be no clean water to drink. Desparate people would drink polluted water and get sick.
3. There would be no clean water to bathe in, so germs could make people sick.

This may eventually contribute to the human race slowly dying off.

Please do something about this by:

1. Acknowledging anti-pollution groups.
2. Passing laws against pollution with stiff penalties and enforce them.

Thank you for your attention.

Daniel Bullen, Grade 5
Mahopac Falls Elementary School
Mahopac, New York

War and How it Affects Children

War frightens children because they feel helpless to do anything about it. It interrupts our lives and educations.

War can also take the lives of children. This is the worst of all to me. These children that are killed have not had the opportunity to contribute to the world yet. How many would be great lives were snuffed out in concentration camps? The world will never know.

Although we can be frightened and even killed by war, I think the world is the biggest loser in war because of the talents of our children that may never be used.

By
Alison Battistella

3rd grade Pittsburgh Pa.

Dear, President Reegan

This is the biggest
problem facing children today, and here's what we can do about it. The problem is my parents are poo and we dont have enough money to use electricity or food, but we can buy food at low prices. Would you please lower the prices a little.

Your Friend,
Lisa S

Feb. 4, 1983

3B grade
Prescott, Ariz.

Feb. 9, 1983

Dear President Reagan
This is the biggest problem facing children today, and here's what we can do about it. I think that stores should lower the prices, because my mom can only afford egg's. Yuck! She can hardly pay the rent.

love
Sherra

grade 3

240

Calumet, Ill.

Dear Prisident Reagan,

This is the biggest probblem facing children today, and here's what we can do about it. Unemployment - We live near lots of steel mills and they have had to take many men and women's jobs away.

My daddy is an electrician. For many many months my daddy had to work out West in the state of Montana. It was hard not to have him home to go places and do things together as a family.

If I could help to solve unemployment problems I would want to tell you make people want to buy American made things. Then men and women could go back to work and be a part of a happy family again.

Nikki
M.

Asheboro, N.C. 27203
February 10, 1993

Dear President Reagan,

This is the biggest problem facing children today, and here is what we can do about it. The problem is kidnappers. I think there should be stricter laws about separated parents when they steal their children from their husband or wife. I am really worried about this.

Sincerly,
Laura C. H
3rd grade

3d grade
Syracuse, NY

February 10, 1983

Dear President Reagan,

This is the biggest problem facing children today, and heres what we can do about it.

Child abuse is the biggest problem facing children today. Many children are being abused and nothing is ever done about it.

Children cant prevent it, but to stop it, they can tell their parents or teacher. We can also refuse candy or rides from strangers.

You as the President of the United States could help us children by seeing that tougher laws are made to put child abusers in jail. In the name of all the children today. Please help us.

A third grade student,
Chuckie G.

3rd

Huntington Beach
Ca.

Dear President Reagan,

This is the biggest problem facing children today and here's what we can do about it.
I think that animals should be protected by the Government. And have a law that certain animals can not be killed. They should all have have a good place to live. Certain forests lumberjacks can't chop trees down. Because some animals live in trees and thats destroying their home How do you think people would feel if birds and other animals that live in trees came and destroyed our homes? Anyway, in that forest no one could harm them. And special men would come and see if they were all right. We would have to kill some that would be all right. Would you write me? I'd like to know what happens. If it doesn't work out, will you try to think of something else? I have a lot more problems!

Sincerelly,
Shannon R.

Sanborn, New York 14132
March 10, 1983

Mr. President:

May I take some of your time to dicuss an important subject? Its about the starving kids of America. I think it would be a good idea to take some money from the taxes and give it to the kids for food. Because I know you or I wouldn't want to be starving hour after hour or month after month or anybody else. Plus I feel sorry for them, and that they have very little food also people like you or I have alot of food and most likely waste it. Please try to do something about it.

Sincerely Yours
Richard T.

Cl. 3

Duluth Mn. 55807
Febuary 15, 1983

Dear President Reagan:

Why do we have nuculer bombs?
God made this earth for us to live on-
t to die in war on. You wouldn't like the United
States slip through your fingers?
Would you?

Sincerely,
James Lee

Egg Harbor City, N.J. 08215
February 17, 1983

Save the Children Week '83
Box K
Po Box 911
Westport, Connecticut 06881

Dear Mr. President:

I believe that the chance of having a war is the biggest fright to all children. If we have a war, it will be depriving us of our right to grow up. We want a chance to experience life before death, and I think that is a reasonable thing to ask, just let us live! Please do something about this. Thankyou.

Sincerely,
Demetria S
13 yrs old
8th grade

Live Oak Fla. 32060
February 23, 1983

Save the Children
Department P Box 911
Westport, Ct 06881

Dear Mr. President:

The most important problem with children today is the lack of rights. Women have fought for rights and have gotten some, but children have gotten very few. I think that you should make a law providing more rights for children.

Sincerely yours,
Shane M

(248)

Members of the Select Committee on
Children, Youth, and family-

Children all over the country watch the news on television. We see and hear what is going on in our country and the world. Some of the things we see and hear scare us.

One of the five things that concern us most is Atomic weapons. All our lives we have had to live in the atomic age. When we were little we did not understand what it was all about. Now we have learned what a Nuclear War would do to our world. I have seen the pictures of what a small atomic bomb did in Japan in 1945. Today the world has many more bombs and much bigger ones. We need them just because we can't get along. We don't trust each other. We don't have Christian love.

All of us children know an atomic war would be terrible. The explosion and the radiation would bring unbelievable suffering to humans and animals. No one wants a nuclear war and we children want the world to beat these Nuclear swords into plowshares. We are worried a Nuclear war might just happen.

We know our President and you members of Congress are working hard to reduce and do

away with these terrible weapons. This is so very important to us. First, because the world will be a safer place to live, and second because we would save lots and lots of money.

I saw a television program put on by World Vision that showed how so many people all over the world need food and health care. Just think how much we could help these people if we did not have to spend so much money on Nuclear Arms.

So please, please for the sake of children all over the world keep working on Nuclear disarmament so that people all over the world will find this a better place to live.

Yours in Christian love,

Reed Claxton

Dear President Reagan,
I think Child Abuse is the biggest problem facing Children Today. These were the numbers of cases reported in Richland County in 1982.
① 115 cases of regular abuse
② 60 cases of sexual abuse
③ 226 cases of neglect
50% of the regular cases, 60% of the sexual abuse, and 90% of the neglect cases were proven.

The solutions the county uses:
① Counseling class for parents
② Removal of children to foster home.
③ Adoption is used as a last resort

About 10% of Richland County families are abused.

Here's what I think we can do about it:

① Have the parents go to a school that teaches them to try not to abuse their children.

② Take the child away from the parents until they Learn not to abuse their children.

③ To make better Laws to protect children.

④ pass out information to people so they can recognize child abuse.

⑤ Neighborhood watch program

⑥ Have places or special help in schools for children

Thank you.

Rob Dintaman

Aliquippa Elementary School
Aliquippa, Pa. 15001
April 28, 1983

Dear Mr. President:

Inflation is one of the biggest problems facing children today.

Prices are always changing on foods and goods and are getting higher and higher. The prices on utility bills keep going up.

America has many senior citizens and retired people. Because of hugh unemployment and plants closing down, things are critical. Many people are on welfare or with low incomes. These people are really hurt by inflation. Even people who have jobs are having a hard time making ends meet.

Here's what can be done about inflation: There MUST BE an immediate freeze on prices to stop it. Laws must be made to keep businesses and companies from raising their prices whenever they feel like it.

Inflation MUST BE STOPPED! The government can do this!!!

Carla McCoy
Age 8
Grade 3

I have been asked to speak about 3rd World countries. Since I lived in India for 3 years, I'd like to mainly talk about it. But before I do, I'd like to mention the contents of some of my classmates' letters. Honduras has a food shortage. Often there is rice that can't be delivered because of a lack of truck parts & tires. Peru badly needs farm advisers to teach farmers how to better produce their own products. Somalia's children lack school materials such as paper & pencils. Many families in Ethiopia have fled their homes because of droughts. They live in straw huts and need blankets. Since English is taught in many 3rd World countries, discarded government school books should be sent to schools who want them there.

The children in India that I remember were poor and didn't look healthy. Most didn't have any school at all; and when they did, they weren't good schools and were only for a couple of years. The mother of a classmate of mine from India wrote down some real needs of pupils in New Delhi. ~~Would anybody like a copy?~~ Some of them are: money for basic school materials as well as schools and day care centers, medicines, used toys and clothing.

60

Unemployment

Unemployment is indeed one of the most serious problems facing people today. The unemployment lines are growing rapidly, and the worst part is that there are no jobs to be found. America has been known as the Land of Opportunity. But unemployment has taken much of the opportunity out of America.

I live in the Rural Community of Midlatons, Ky. It is in Letcher County, in the southeastern portion of our state. Our largest industry is coal mining, with about 60% of our population depending on the mines. In fact everything in the county except government funded programs and our educational system depends on the coal industry.

Since December of 1982, our unemployment rate has grown from 39% to its present 61%. Every week there is rumor of another lay off or worse still, rumor of a mine closing. Presently, in my school of 325 students, 61% of the student body is on a free or reduced lunch program.

This is having serious effects on family life in our area. Some of the most serious ones are: (1) Rent and housing payments are not being met. (2) There isn't enough money to meet even the basic necessities. (3) Insurances are having to be dropped. (4) There is no money for the little extras such as eating out or going to the movies.

5) Home repairs and improvements cant be made.
(6) New clothing required to stay in style cant be bought.
(7) The stressful conditions cause families to quarrel and fight more frequently.
(8) The crime rate is up. There's a sharp increase in the number of cases of reported theft.

My class conducted a "Children's Congress" and discussed this problem. We came up with some recommended solutions.

(1) The government should start immediately a program which pays workers on a nationwide basis to do repair work of pipes, bridges, roads, schools and public buildings.
(2) Stores should reduce their items up to 50% for unemployed consumers.
(3) The government or industry should conduct workshops who teach new skills useful in today's job field.
(4) Factories and coal companies should give more educational scholarships.
(5) Companies should split shifts, so as to work more workers into the schedule.

Yes, America and my community in particular have been hit hard by unemployment; but surely if we come out of the Great Depression of the 30's, we can over come this.

The children of today must have a future, and some thing to prepare ourselves for. If not, why put us through the long and sometimes torturing process known as education. Let's put jobs back into our future.

Tiffini Jones, 6th Grader
M.S.P. Elementary School

Ladies and Gentlemen, members of the Senate.

We are gathered here to talk about the biggest problems facing children today in this country and overseas. Even though America is one of the world's richest countries, it still has its share of poor people. These people are concentrated in certain areas of the country such as the inner cities, Appalachia and American Indian Reservations. Inner cities have problems such as drug addiction and unemployment. When parents are unemployed they will not have enough money to raise their children properly. In Appalachia, the major problem seems to be lack of shelter. Here, many people live in abandoned buildings and one-roomed homes. On the Five Indian Reservations of Arizona lack of water is the main problem. One can imagine the amount of difficulties these children undergo everyday.

Poverty in Third World countries is far different from poverty in the United States. The developing countries, society as a whole is poor and

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the children here face problems such as malnutrition, inadequate health care, and a lack of education.

I come from Sri Lanka, an island nation off the coast of India and I was there recently to visit my relatives. Here I saw many shanties that were made of cardboard and had thatched roofs. Many children were sleeping on the streets without adequate clothing. Now Sri Lanka is getting better because of "Save the Children".

Thank you for listening to my presentation.

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Dear

Congressmen Ladies and Gentlemen
I have been asked to talk to you
about our fear of crime and violence.

Is our world full of violence and crime?
That's all we see on T.V. or in the newspapers!

Our streets are not safe. The threat of
mugging kidnapping or rape is constantly
there. We can't walk the streets alone any-
more. When we are walking to school, we have
to walk with someone or in a group.

Schools are not even safe! Drug pushers
wait on, or near, the school property and try
to sell us into addiction. If we say no, they
will come back again and try to persuade us.

It seems that there is no place safe any-
more, even the home where most murders and
robberies are committed. We are afraid to be alone
at home because of this constant fear.

Some children are even afraid of their parents.
The divorced parent might kidnap their child
or the sick parent might abuse them.

If streets, schools, and homes are unsafe,
where can we go? Does our world have to
be like this? Can't you please change it?

Sincerely,
Maura Conniff
Age 12 Grade 6
South Plainfield, N. J.